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MADHAVACHARYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M. A. ; BANGALORE.

SEVERAL years ago I made, incidentally, a few remarks in my *Archæological Reports*¹ with regard to **Mādhavāchārya**, the great Advaita teacher, author and commentator of the 14th century, who was also known as **Mādhavamātya** or **Mādhava-mantri** by reason of his having been the minister of the Vijayanagar king Bukka I. I also gave briefly some grounds for the supposition that there flourished at about the same period another **Mādhava-mantri** who was likewise a scholar, an author and a minister of the same king. My discovery of a work on rhetoric, styled *Alaṅkāra-sūdhānidhi*, by Sāyaṇa, also enabled me to give a few hitherto unknown details about Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha, younger brothers of Mādhavāchārya. Finally, it was stated that **Mādhava**, the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, was quite a different person from Mādhavāchārya to whom the authorship of the work is generally attributed. On a perusal of my remarks in the above Reports, Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, in a kind letter dated the 21st October, 1909, wrote to me thus :—

“The argument for the differentiation of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava is very important, and I hope that you will put together your results soon in the form of an article in the *J.R.A.S.* For many years we have followed Burnell's conclusions in identifying Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāranya, in what is, I fear, an *अन्धपरम्परा*; and I should be glad to have the facts readjusted.”

But one circumstance or another has till now prevented me from giving the requisite attention to this work and satisfying Dr. Barnett's desire. Though late, I now address myself to this task and shall try to put together the results of my researches with regard to the subject. It is, however, necessary to remark at the outset that some of the facts that follow may not be quite new.

Mādhavāchārya.

Mādhavāchārya was a Brahman of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Bōdhāyana-sūtra and Yajus-sākhā. His father was Māyaṇa, and his mother Śrīmātī. He had two younger brothers named Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha, the last being the youngest of the three. I give below

¹ *Report* for 1908, paras. 55 and 83; and *Report* for 1909, para. 91.

a few extracts from the works of Mādhavāchārya and Śāyaṇa in support of the above statements :—

श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता ।
सायणो भोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धी सहोदरी ॥
यस्य बौधायनं सूत्रं शास्त्रा यस्य च याज्ञिकी ।
भारद्वाजकुले यस्य सर्वज्ञः स हि माधवः ॥

Parāśara-Mādhaviya.

महेंद्रवन्माननीयो मंत्री मायणसायणः ।
मंडलेषु कृतचारमंडलः सायणो जयति मायणात्मजः ।
मंत्री मायणसायणस्ति जगतीमान्प्रापदानोदयः ।

इति श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमवक्षिणोत्तरसमुद्राधिपतिबुक्कराजप्रथमदेशिकमाधवाचार्योत्तुजन्मनः श्रीमत्संगमराज-
सकलराज्यधुरंधरस्य सकलविद्यानिधानभूतस्य भोगनाथामजन्मनः श्रीमत्सायणाचार्यस्य कृतावलकारसुधानधौ
Śāyaṇa's Alahākāra-sudhānidhi.

भारद्वाजान्वयमुवा तेन सायणमंत्रिणा ।
व्यरच्यत विशिष्टार्थः सुभाषितसुधानिधिः ॥

इति पूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्राधीश्वरारिसायविभालश्रीकेशराजमहाप्रधानभरद्वाजवंशमौक्तिकमायणरत्ना-
करसुधाकर माधवकल्पतरुसहोदर सायणाचार्यविरचिते सुभाषितसुधानिधौ

Śāyaṇa's Subhāshita-sudhānidhi

तस्य (संगमस्य) मंत्रिशिरोरत्नमस्ति मायणसायणः ।
तेन मायणपुत्रेण सायणेन मनीषिणा ।
मंत्र्यः कर्मविपाकायः क्रियते करुणावता ॥

इति माधवभोगनाथसहोदरस्य मायणनंदनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य कृती प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधौ

Śāyaṇa's Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi.

तस्या (संगमस्या) भूदन्वयगुरुस्तत्त्वसिद्धांतद्वयकः ।
सर्वज्ञः सायणाचार्यो मायणार्थतनुद्वयः ।
उपेन्द्रस्येव यस्यासीद्विद्वः सुमनसां प्रियः ।
महाकनूनामाहर्ता माधवायः सहोदरः ॥

Śāyaṇa's Yajñatantra-sudhānidhi.

अस्ति श्रीसंगममन्त्रापः पृथ्वीतलपुरंदरः ।
तस्य मंत्रिशिरोरत्नमस्ति मायणसायणः ॥
तेन मायणपुत्रेण सायणेन मनीषिणा ।
आख्यया माधवीयेयं धातुवृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥

Śāyaṇa's Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛitti.

A mutilated inscription of the Aruḷāḷa-perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram,² which consists of a Sanskrit verse addressed to Śāyaṇa, also corroborates the details given above about Mādhavāchārya's *gōtra*, *sūtra*, parents and brothers; only it has the name Māyaṇa where we should expect Mādhava and mentions Śrīkanṭhanātha as the *guru* of Śāyaṇa.

Mādhavāchārya appears to have had a sister named Singale, whose son Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmidhara was a minister of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya I.³ In the introduction to his commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛiti* and in a few other works, Mādhavāchārya names three of his *gurus*, Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratīrtha and Śrīkanṭha, in a verse which runs thus:—

सोहं प्राप्य विवेकतीर्थपदवीप्राप्तायतीर्थं परं
मज्जन् मज्जनतीर्थसंगिनि पुनः सद्भक्तितीर्थं परं ।
लब्धमाकलयन् प्रभावलहरी श्रीनारतीतीर्थतो
विद्यातीर्थमुपाश्रयन् हृदि भजे श्रीकण्ठमन्त्राहृतं ॥

² *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 118.

³ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1907-8*, page 245.

Of these, Vidyātīrtha was considered by Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa as an incarnation of Mahēśvara, as is indicated by the invocatory verse (सस्य निश्चितं वेदाः) in most of their works. An image of this *guru* was set up by Mādhavāchārya at Śringēri under the name of Vidyāśankara; and two inscriptions,⁴ of A. D. 1389 and 1392, register grants for the worship of this image. The above invocatory verse is also quoted at the beginning of the inscriptions, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Śringēri 5, 12, 14, 24 and 28, and several of the copper grants issued by the Śringēri *maṭha* bear the signature *Vidyāśankara* at the end. Vidyātīrtha was both the temporal and spiritual guide of Bukka I.⁵ An inscription,⁶ of A. D. 1376, seems to lead to the inference that by the favour of this *guru* Bukka I. was able to bring the kingdom with ease under his control :—

क्षोणीं सामरमेखलां स कलयन् भूक्षेपमात्रे स्थितां
विद्यातीर्थमुनेः कृपांनुधिष्यती भोगवतारोऽभवत् ॥

The following verse from Mādhavāchārya's *Anubhūtiprakāśa* shows that he looked upon Vidyātīrtha as his chief *guru* :—

भक्तः प्रविष्टः शास्तेति योऽन्तर्यामिश्चतीरितः ।
सोऽस्मान् मुख्यगुरुः वात् विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरः ॥

From the colophon of his *Rudraprasāna-bhāṣya*, which is incorrectly attributed to Mādhavāchārya, we learn that Vidyātīrtha was a disciple of Paramātmātīrtha. The colophon runs thus :—

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यपरमात्मतीर्थशिष्यविद्यातीर्थविरचितं रुद्रप्रश्नभाष्यं समाप्तं.

The second *guru* Bhāratīrtha is also referred to by Mādhavāchārya in the introduction to his *Jaiminiya-Nyāyamālavistara* in a verse which runs

स भव्याद्भारतीतीर्थवर्षाद्रिचतुरावसानात् ।
कृपामध्याहतां लब्ध्वा परार्थ्यप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥

This *guru* is said to have written a work called *Drigdrīya-vivēka*, as well as a portion of the *Pañchadaśī-prakaraṇa*. An inscription at Śringēri,⁷ of A. D. 1346, records a grant to him by Harihara I and his brothers Kampaṇa, Bukka I, Mārāpa and Muddapa.

The third *guru* Śrīkaṇṭha is evidently identical with the Śrīkaṇṭhanātha mentioned as the *guru* of Sāyaṇa in the Conjeeveram inscription referred to above. In the Bitraguṇṭa copperplate inscription,⁸ which records a grant to him in A. D. 1356 by Sangama II, he is referred to as the *guru* of the latter. The composer of this inscription was Bhōganātha, younger brother of Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa, who styles himself the नर्मसचिव or boon companion of Sangama II. From the high praise given incidentally to Śrīkaṇṭha in one of the verses of his hitherto unknown poem called *Mahāgaṇapati-stava* by Bhōganātha, we may infer that he also looked upon him as his own *guru*. I give the verse below :—

मन्वारश्च तहः परेऽपि तरवो मेरुश्च शैलः परेऽ
प्याः शैलाः कमलामृदस्यशयनं चाब्धिः परेऽप्यब्धयः ।
श्रीकण्ठश्च गुरुः परेऽपि गुरुवो लोकत्रयेऽप्यद्भुतं
भक्ताधीनमवांश्च देवतमहो सर्वेऽप्यमी देवताः ॥

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, Mulbāgal 11; *Ibid.*, VI, Śringēri 22.

⁵ See introduction to the *Commentaries on the Vedas* and to *Jaiminiya-Nyāyamālavistara*.

⁶ *Epi. Car.*, IV, Yedatore 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, Śringēri 1.

⁸ *Epi. Ind.* III, 23.

It is thus interesting to learn that all the three brothers—Mādhavāchārya, Sāyaga and Bhōganātha—looked upon Śrīkanātha as their *guru*.

We may now proceed to say a few words about another minister of Bukka I, who was also known as Mādhavāmātya or Mādhava-mantri, and whose works and military exploits have therefore been ignorantly attributed to Mādhavāchārya himself. We may call this minister Mādhava-mantri to distinguish him from Mādhavāchārya. He was also a great scholar and author. An inscription,⁹ of A. D. 1368, tells us that he was the son of the Brahman Chāvūṇḍa of the Āngīrasa-gōtra, that he was both a Vedic scholar and a great warrior, that he cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *Upanishads* and was hence known as *Upanishanmārga-pratishṭhāguru*, that he conquered the country on the West Coast, that he was the minister of Bukka I. and was entrusted by him with the government of the province bordering on the Western Ocean, that through the favour of the teacher Kāśivīlāsā he attained celebrity as a Śaiva and that he worshipped Tryāmbakanātha (Śiva) as enshrined in his own favourite *linga* according to the tenets of pure Śaivism as directed by the Śaiva teacher Kāśivīlāsā-Kriyāśakti. I append a few extracts from the above inscription in support of the details noted above :—

गौत्रे योऽगिरसां प्रचंडतपसश्चाबुडपुथ्वीसुर-
प्रठादद्भवमेत्य नीतिसरणी दत्ता धियं धैर्यणी ।
सूरिस्सन्नपि सर्वज्ञानमनःप्रह्लाददानोचितं
यद्भूयः कवितां व्यनक्ति तनुते नो कस्य तेनाहुतं ॥
यः कृत्वा खिलमृतमौपनिषदं दुर्वावदुक्तोन्मद-
व्यालान्तकददुर्नयोमगहनोत्सादेन वर्त्मज्वलं ।
ब्राह्मं धाम सुदूरमव्यविरतं प्रस्थापयन्नहवा
शायीस्तेन नुतो बृधैरुपनिषन्मार्गप्रतिष्ठागुरुः ॥
यस्ताभ्यहिरिशवन्तरवपुषः काशीविलासेक्षितुः
सोऽद्रास हुतया कटाक्षकलया नीतः प्रयां शान्भवी ।
जता शक्तिभिरीक्षतास्मभिरिमं धामं च लोके जवा-
शजैषीत्कियतोऽपरांतविषयात् यस्तास्तु कास्य स्तुतिः ॥
तस्या (बुक्कराजस्य) स्ति शस्तयशसो नयशौर्यमुख्यैः
खयातो मृणैर्जगति माधव इत्यमात्यः ।
यो ब्रह्म जिह्मदमवाधिकृतः पवित्रं
क्षत्रं च जैत्रमभयाय भुवो विभर्ति ॥

श्रीवीरबुक्कराजस्य विक्रम इव जगद्रक्षायै साक्षात्परिगृहीतपवित्रपुष्पाकारः सोऽयं श्रीमन्नाथवा-
मात्यस्तस्यैव श्रीवीरबुक्कभूपतेरादेशात् पश्चिमसरिजायपर्येतराज्याधिपत्यसंगीकृत्य तद्राज्ययोगक्षेमा-
न्वीक्षणानुपरोधेन श्रीमत्काशीविलासक्रियाशक्तिशिवदेशि कादिदेन शुद्धशैवाग्रायवर्त्मना निजैर्दलिंग-
कृताधिष्ठाने देवदेवं श्रीमत्सर्वकलायं निरव्यभित्तिकात्मभिः क्रियानियमकलपैर्यथाकालं यजन्.....

A copperplate grant from Goā noticed by Bhau Dāji¹⁰ states that during the reign of Harihara II Mādhava-mantri, son of Dvivēdi Chaṇḍi-bhaṭṭa and Māchāmbikā, a faithful observer of the *śrauta* and *smārta* religious law, establisher of the *linga* of Saptanātha, *Upanishanmārgapravartakāchārya*, being stationed at Goa, made a grant of a village in the name of his mother, naming it Māchalāpura. The following verses from an earlier record,¹¹ dated A. D. 1347, inform us that Mārāpa, younger brother of Harihara I, who was govern-

⁹ *Epi. Car.*, VII, Shikarpur 281.

¹⁰ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, IX, 228.

¹¹ *Epi. Car.*, VIII, Sorab 375.

ing the province on the West Coast from his capital Chandragupti, had Mādhava, disciple of Kriyāsakti, for his minister :—

कहासनान्मारपभूमिपालः संप्राप्य राज्यं दिशि पश्चिमायां ।

गौर्मतक्षैले वरचंद्रगुप्तो स्थित्वा सुखं सम्यगपालयत्यजाः ॥

धर्मेण तस्य परिपालयतः प्रजानां

राज्ञोऽधिराज्यगहनांबुधिकर्णधारः ।

प्रज्ञाबलेन गुरुमन्यतिसंदधानो

मन्त्री महानजनि माधवनामधेयः ॥

क्रियाशक्तिगुरुः साक्षात् तेजसा श्रीचित्रंबकः ।

परंजयस्य संग्रामो भार्गवस्येव संकरः ॥

Another inscription at the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi,¹² dated A. D. 1368, records a grant while Mādhava-mantri was governing the Banavase 12,000 under Bukka I.¹³ Another,¹⁴ dated A. D. 1384, registers a grant by Mādhava-mantri, the great house-minister of Harihara II, while in the Male-rājya or the mountainous province on the west. The last record that we have to notice in connection with Mādhava-mantri is one in which he seems to have made a grant while on his death-bed.¹⁵ From it we learn, as shown by the extracts given below, that by the order of Harihara II Mādhava-mantri became the ruler of the Jayantipura or Banavase province; that, having defeated the Turushkas, he wrested the Konkana capital Goa from them and reestablished the worship of Saptanātha and other gods there; that in the year A. D. 1391 he made a grant of the village Kuchara, naming it Mādhavapura after himself, to 24 learned Brahmins; and that on his death another Brahman named Narahari, who was a favourite disciple of Vidyāśankara (i. e., Vidyātīrtha), was sent out to Goa by Harihara II as the governor of the Jayantipura province.

तस्या(हरिहरस्या)ज्ञया माधव मंत्रिवर्यः प्रशाज्जयंतीपुरराज्यं ? मृत्युं ।

यन्मवशक्त्या वपुस्तृजंतोऽप्यरातयः स्वास्थ्यमहो भजते ॥

आशांतविभ्रांतयशः स मन्त्री दिशो जिगीषुर्महता बलेन ।

गोवामिहां कौंकणराजधानीमन्येत मन्येऽरुणदर्पणेन ॥

प्रतिष्ठितांस्तत्र तुरुष्कसंघानुत्पाद्य दौष्ण्या भुवनैकवारः ।

उन्मूलितानामकरोत्प्रतिष्ठां श्रीसप्तनाथाविमुधाभुजां यः ॥

तस्मिन् गते क्षितितले सति कीर्तितोऽयं सम्मंत्रिभिर्हरिहरो नृपतिर्विचार्य ।

गोंवापुरे नृहरिमंत्रिणमादरेण राज्ये पदे समनिविच्य पुरो जयत्याः ॥

विद्याशंकरसत्कृपामृतरसासारेण संवर्धितो

विद्वत्कल्पमहीरुहो नरहरिक्षोणीपतिर्भासते ।

एके त्रयोदशाधिकविंशतीत्तरसहस्रे गते वर्तमानप्रजापतिसंवत्सरे श्रीमन्महामन्त्रीश्वर उपनिषन्मार्ग-
प्रवर्तकाचार्यः श्रीमन्माधवराजः कुचरनामानं मानं माधवपुरमिति प्रथितनामधेयं कृत्वा चतुर्विंशतिब्राह्मणेभ्यो
[वत्तवान्] .

This record, too, applies the title *Upanishanmārga-pravartakāchārya* to Mādhava-mantri, whom it also designates Mādhavarāja. The epithet *bhuvanaikavīra* applied to him shows that he was a great warrior. Another inscription,¹⁶ of A. D. 1368, styles him "Mādarasa Odeyar, the great minister of Bukka I."

¹² *Indian Antiquary*, IV, 206; *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XII, 340.

¹³ Cp. Shikarpur 281, noticed above.

¹⁵ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, IV, 107 and 115.

¹⁴ *Epi. Car.*, VIII, Tirthahalli 147.

¹⁶ *Epi. Car.*, VII, Shikarpur 282.

From what has been said above it is perfectly clear that Mādhava-mantri of the Āngirasa-gōtra, son of Chāvunḍa or Chāvunḍi-bhaṭṭa and Māchambika, disciple of the Śaiva teacher Kāśivillāsa-Kriyāsakti, governor of Banavase under Bukka I and Harihara II, and vanquisher of the Turushkas at Goa, is a different person from Mādhavāchārya of the Bharadvāja-gōtra, son of Māyana and Śrīmātī, and disciple of Vidyātīrtha, Bharatīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha. Mādhavāchārya does not appear to have ever been a warrior, though his younger brother Śāyana was, as will be shown further on. He had nothing to do with the conquest of the Turushkas and the capture of Goa. So, the following statement of some scholars about his valour in war have no ground to stand upon—

"Vidyāraṇya was not only a ripe scholar but also a valourous and tactful soldier who successfully fought against the Muhammadans and wrested the fort of Goa from their hands."

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAṂṢA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

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(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 163.)

§ 146. The suffix *-ḍaii*, from Apabhraṁṣa *-ḍaii* < Skt. **-ṭakāḥ*, is always used pleonastically, like in the Apabhraṁṣa. Examples are :

- kāgaḍi* "A female crow" (P. 374)
- gāṭhaḍi* "A knot, a bundle" (P. 283)
- cāmaḍaii* "Skin" (P. 202)
- bāpuḍaii* "Wretched, poor" (P. 201) [< Ap. *bappuḍaii*]
- māḍi* "Mother" (Rṣ. 126)
- vāṭai* "Speech, question" (F 728, 12)
- sumiṇaḍaii* "Dreams" (Rṣ. 53)
- māḷaḍaii* "Dirty" (F 596, 4)
- rūḍaii* "Good" (See § 19).

Not unfrequently *-ḍaii* is combined with the equivalent pleonastic suffix *-alaii*, thereby giving either *-ḍalaii* or *-alaiḍaii*. Cf. the Apabhraṁṣa form *bāhubahullāḍā*, occurring *Siddhahem*, iv, 430, 3.

Examples :

- kūkhaḍali* "Womb" (Rṣ. 67)
- māḍali* "Mother" (Čal. 10)
- baḡalaḍaii* "Crow" (F 596, 4).

In the following instance, the suffix *-ḍaii* is used in the formation of an adverbial present participle: *bhamantaḍaii* (F 694). With the *ḍ* element of *-ḍaii* I connect the pleonastic element *ḍ*, which is euphonically inserted after the *a* of the causals (See § 141, (3)).

§ 147. A suffix which has not yet been noticed in the dialects of the Old Western Rajasthani group, is the suffix *-haii*, which is used after adverbial bases to derive locative adjectives. No instances of it occur in the Apabhraṁṣa, but it is no doubt congener with the Sindhi suffix *-hō*, which is used in exactly the same way (See Trumpp, *Sindhi Grammar*, p. 384-5), the only difference being in that before the latter suffix the terminal vowel of

the base is lengthened. I am inclined to explain *-haū* as derived from Sanskrit *-sthakāḥ*, through Apabhraṃṣa *-tthaū*, whence Old Western Rājasthānī **-thaū* > *-haū*; or possibly from Sanskrit **-thakāḥ*, a suffix which could well be appended to adverbs to form adjectives with a locative meaning, as is shown by the Sanskrit example: *yavati-thaḥ* (Pāṇini, v, 2, 53; Manu, i, 20). From this suffix the following locative adjectives are derived in Old Western Rājasthānī:

āghaū "Anterior" (P. 584) < **āghaū* < Ap. *agga-* < Skt. *agra-*
arahaū "Near" (P. 479) < *urahaū* (Ādi C.) < Ap. *ora-*, *avāra-* < Skt. *apārā-*
pahraū "Remote, far" (Up. 149, 265) < *parahaū* (Up. 54) < Ap. *para-* < Skt. *pārā-*
ūpharaū "Superior" (Ādi. 55) < *ūpaharaū* (Daṣ. v, 13, Up. 178) < **ūparihaū*
 < Ap. *uppari-* < Skt. *upāri-*.

With the two first examples above, Sindhī *agāhō* and *orāhō* may be compared (Trumpp, loc. cit.). Particularly important are the two forms *urahaū* and *parahaū*, not only on account of their being connected with Old Western Rājasthānī **oilaū* and *pailaū* (§ 143), but also because of their being the prototypes of Mārwarī *varo*, *paro*, *ro*, which are used to form verbal intensives (Grierson, LSI., vol. ix, Part ii, p. 30). Traces of this use are already found in Up. and Ādi C., two Old Western Rājasthānī MSS. influenced by the Mārwarī tendency. Take the example following:

eka āparī ākhi pahri kari "Having twitched off one of his own eyes" (Up. 265).

For other examples see § 78.

148. Other suffixes deserving particular notice are the following:

-āṇa, *-āna*, occurring in: *rājāṇa* (P. 181) and *rajāṇa* (P. 171) "King";

-ima, identical with the Sanskrit *kṛt*-suffix *-ima* and used, as in Prakrit, to derive abstract nouns (in origin neuter adjectives substantivised, see Pischel, *Prakr. Gramm.*, § 602, n. 1). Examples: *lavaṇima* "Beauty" (F 647);

-ivaū, occurring in: *rājivaū* "King" (F 647);

-eraḍaū, a double suffix used in the Up. mostly in a comparative sense. For illustrations see § 79;

-taū, from Apabhraṃṣa **-ttaū* < Skt. **-tvakam*, occurring in: *āurataū* "Distress, anxiety" (P. 60, 97, 376) < Ap. **āurattaū* < Skt. **āturatvakam*. Modern Gujarātī has *orato* and employs it in the sense of "Longing, desire". An instance of the weak form *-ta* (< Skt. *-tvam*) of this suffix, is *mithyāta* "Impiousness" (F 728, 18);

-ti, from Sanskrit *-tā* (*-tvā*?) > Ap. *-ttā* (?), through substitution of the feminine termination *i* for *a*. Ex: *rāmati* "Sport, hunting" (P. 134, 135) < Ap. **rammatta* < Skt. *ramyatā*;

-raū, occurring as a pleonastic suffix in *trījaraū* "Third" (Ādi C.)

149. Lastly, I may mention the negative prefix *ana-* (< Ap. *aṇ-* < Skt. *an-*), which in Old Western Rājasthānī is very largely used before nominal as well as verbal forms. A few examples are:

aṇagharī "Houseless" fem. (P. 602)

aṇatediū āviū chā ihā "I have come here without being called" (P. 417)

jāgha aṇapharasataū "Not touching the legs" (Çrā.)

aṇadidhū "Ungiven" (Daṣ. i, 3)

kāi aṇalahiraū na lui "Nothing is impossible to obtain" (Śaṣṭi. 10)

tū aṇajāṇai marama "Thou dost not know the secret" (P. 84).

(To be continued.)

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAGADHA.

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(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 52.)

II.

1. Prehistoric Magadha.

The first distinct mention of Magadha, or rather the Magadhas, is in the *Atharva Veda*. Men of Magadha are referred to in the *Yajur Veda*. These references show that the land had not yet been aryanised in that period. The settlement of respectable Brahmans in Magadha began only in the later *Āraṇyaka* period. The early *sūtras* seem to have looked on the country as the abode of fallen Brahmans (*Vrātyas*) who sought readmission to the Brahmanical order by performing purificatory ceremonies.¹ According to the *Purāṇas* the kingdom of Magadha was older than the Mahābhārata War. Bṛīhadratha, the founder of the earliest dynasty of Magadha, was a son of Vasu Uparichara, the same as is mentioned in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*. Uparichara seems to be a historical personage as he is mentioned in various works—in the *Mātsya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*, and in the *Harivaṃśa*. He is styled king of Chēdi in the last mentioned work. His son Bṛīhadratha is named Mahāratha in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and styled king of Magadha. The foundation of the Bārīhadratha dynasty of Magadha by a younger son of a king of Chēdi seems likely to be the historical background of these traditions.

Three generations from Bṛīhadratha bring us to the Mahābhārata War, and there were twenty three generations from the War to the times of Gautama Buddha. It is true that the *Purāṇas* mention 32 kings from Bṛīhadratha to the end of the dynasty. But the names of rulers after Sahadēva actually given is only 23.² Adding to this list the seven other rulers of the Bārīhadratha line,³ who were not of the same line as Sahadēva, but were descended from another son of Bṛīhadratha, we get 30 names. Including Jarāsandha and Sahadēva we get 32⁴ names of rulers—all of whom were descended from Bṛīhadratha by the evidence of the *Purāṇas*, and 23 of whom reigned in Magadha after Sahadēva the contemporary of the Great War.

The Purāṇic story that the last of the Bārīhadrathas⁵ was succeeded by Chaṇḍa Pradyōta of Avanti, or by his father, implies that the Bṛīhadratha dynasty continued to rule down to the time of Gautama Buddha. But in the meantime Siśunāga usurped the throne of Magadha. It may therefore be supposed that the Bārīhadrathas still remained as local chieftains of Magadha until the kings of Girivraja encroached on their territory and finally extinguished the line.

¹ See Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index*. II. 116. for the references.

² In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Other *Purāṇas* differ—the *Brahmāṇḍa* has 22 names, the *Bhāgavata* 21, and the *Viṣṇu* 21 only. The *Mātsya* has 22 names.

³ Bṛīhadratha; Kusāgra or Kusāgrya; Rishabha or Vrishabha; Pushpavat, Putravat or Pushya; Satyadhrita or Satyajita; Sudhanwan; and Jantu or Ōrja. The brother of Kusāgra was Jarāsandha, father of Sahadēva. The *Purāṇas* may have added these names together, although they were the names of contemporary, not of consecutive dynasties, thus getting 32 rulers in all.

⁴ This is the total number given in the *Vāyu* and *Mātsya Purāṇas*: इति त्रिंशत् नृपाः स्युः भवितारो बृहद्रथान्. The *Brahmāṇḍa* has another reading: इति त्रिंशतिः । इ नृपाः भवितारो बृहद्रथान् ।

⁵ So the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. The former names him Ripunajaya (Book IV, Chap. 24), and the latter Purañjaya (Book XII. Chap. 1, verse 2). But the *Mātsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* simply say that the Bṛīhadratha dynasty had ended when the Pradyota dynasty was founded.

2. Magadha and other lands.

In the 7th Cent. B.C. there were several famous kingdoms in Hindustan. The *Purāṇas* give the lists of the dynasties of Kāśi, Kōśala, Kauśāmbi, Avanti, and Magadha. Of these Kāśi seems to have been the most flourishing kingdom. It is mentioned 428 times in the *Atītavattu*, admittedly the oldest portion of the Buddhist *Jātaka* literature. Many kings of Kāśi mentioned in the *Jātakas* could be discovered in the Purāṇic lists. One may mention Brahmadaṭṭa, Viśhvaśēna, Udaśēna, and Bhallaṭa.⁶ Of the most famous of these, Brahmadaṭṭa and his followers, the *Harivaṃśa*⁷ says, there were different trans-migrations—as Brāhmaṇas, foresters, deer, water-fowl, swans and Brāhmaṇas again. We have similar beliefs in the *Jātaka* tales, where Brahmadaṭṭa's⁸ reign is mostly referred to, he being an incarnation of the Buddha in some of his former births. Thus then, in the 7th Cent. B.C. Kāśi under Brahmadaṭṭa and his descendants seems to have been the most important of the kingdoms of Hindustan. Next in importance to Kāśi was Takkaśīla (Taxila), mentioned twenty-five times in the *Atītavattu*, and the Kuru-Pāṇchālas mentioned nine times. Then comes, Magadha presumably under the last kings of the Purāṇic Bārhadratha dynasty. It is mentioned seven times. Of other kingdoms, the Buddhist records have only faint notices—of the Kōśalas, Avantis, Vatsas, Mallas, Vidēhas, and of the frontier kingdoms of Sibi, Bhārucha, Kālinga, Sovira, Mahishmaka, and Tāmraparṇi.

Towards the end of the 7th Cent. B.C. the centre of importance and interest is shifted from the Western to the Eastern kingdoms of Hindustan. The *Paccuppanna-Vattu* mentions Kāśi only once, and the western kingdoms of Gāndhāra, Kuru, Sivi, etc., not at all. Kōśala finds mention in 428 places, and there is mostly laid the scene of the Buddha's 'former births.' Some of the kings of Kōśala are prominent characters, e. g., Mahākōśala, probably an elder contemporary of the Buddha. It is clear from the Buddhist records that part of the Kāśi kingdom was absorbed by Kōśala in the best period of its existence. This is also indicated by the compound name Kāśi-Kausalyās in the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa.⁹ The other part was apparently held as a viceroyalty¹⁰ by the younger members of the House of Magadha after Śiśunāga. But the triumph of Kōśala was short lived. The early *Purāṇas* mention only three rulers after the Buddha's death and the *Bhagavata Purāṇa* has only one. In the *Vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, Kōśala is not at all referred to, though Avanti, Kauśāmbi, the Vatsa country and Magadha figure in the political relationships. Chaṇḍa Pradyōta of Avanti, the father-in-law of Udayana and contemporary of Ajātaśatru, Udaya and Darśaka, was the most distinguished king of his time. But the power of Magadha was rapidly gaining ground over Kōśala and Avanti.

3. Rajas of Girivraja.

The founder of the dynasty, Śiśunāga 'took up his abode' at Girivraja after stationing his son at Benares. The *Purāṇas* add that Śiśunāga "annihilated the renown of the Pradyotas." But, as shown in the last article, their version of the Śiśunāga as succeeding the Pradyotas of Avanti cannot be accepted as historical. Śiśunāga must

⁶ *Viśhṇu*, P. IV, Chap. 19.

⁷ *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. XXI.

⁸ Brahmadaṭṭa king of Benares is the Bodhisattva in *Jātakas* 14, 67, 223, 248 and 459 in Fausbøll's edition. The *Jātakas* state that Brahmadaṭṭa is the name of a family and not of any particular king. The *Purāṇas* have only one Brahmadaṭṭa.

⁹ I. 2, 9.

¹⁰ Śiśunāga, for instance, "stationed his son at Benares" (as viceroy). This son Kāka-varṇa afterwards became king of Magadha. (*Mātanga* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*). That part of the Kāśi kingdom was incorporated into Kōśala is seen from the *Mahāvāgya* (VIII, 2).

therefore have been ruling in Benares before he became master of Girivraja, presumably then the capital of Magadha. It is difficult to tell who was the ruler of Kāśī displaced by the Śaśunāgas. Very possibly, it was one of the successors of Brahmadatta, the last of whom was Bhallaṭṭa of the Purāṇic list. Corresponding to him or his son we have Bhallatiya¹¹ in the *Jātakās*. The other things we know about Śiśunāga depend on scattered notices in the Buddhist legends. The Burmese legend of Gaudama¹² makes Śiśunāga the *protégé* of a Nāga, when a child, apparently hinting at the fact that the king was of Nāga extraction.

The Nāgas were a prominent non-Āryan race in India. We have their name preserved in various parts of the country: Nāgārjuni hills, Nāgpur, Nāgaur, Nāgarkot, Nāgapatnam and Nāgarkovil. Nāga princes find mention in historical records. The Buddhist records speak of Nāga rulers in Kāmpilya and elsewhere, and the early Chōla traditions speak of Chōla kings marrying Nāga princesses in the south of India. Nāgadatta, and Nāgasena are among the names of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. There is a Nāgārjuna in the dynastic lists of the Śīlahāras of Nepal and of Kashmir. Nāgavardhana was a nephew of the Chālukya king Pulikesin II and Nāgabhaṭṭa was king of the Gurjaras about 800 A. D. It is possible that these princes could be affiliated ethnically to the primitive tribes of the Nāga hills.

Like the Dravidian princes with whom they intermarried the Nāgas were adopted into the Āryan fold, and their position gradually improved in the social scale. The Śaśunāga princes are styled *Kshatrabandhavah* in the *Purāṇas*. Mr. V. A. Smith¹³ translates this epithet by 'kings with Kshatriya kinsfolk.' But the real meaning of the word is *Kshatriyādhamāh* 'Kshatriyas of a very low order.' In modern times the Rāṇas of Udaipur claim descent from Nagar Brahmans, and their ancestors are known as Brahma Kshatrias.¹⁴

Of the second king, Kākavarṇa, all that we know is that Bāṇa¹⁵ has preserved a tradition to the effect that, curious of marvels, he was carried away by a condemned man to an unknown place in an aerial car, and that a dagger was thrust into his throat in the vicinity of the city. These traditions, combined with the appellation given to the king (Kākavarṇa means 'black as a crow'), seem to imply that the king was fond of new views and daring innovations, and that he was murdered by the orthodox party on account of his patronage of reformed views in religion, which were so much in the air in that century. The third and fourth kings seem to have been able warriors, as they are styled Kshēmadharman¹⁶ and Kshatrajit by the Brahmans, and Prasēnajit and Mahāpadma by the Buddhist and Jainas. That they were making gradual conquests appears from the *Mahāvagga*,¹⁷ which says that Bimbisāra had the sovereignty of 80,000 villages and called an assembly of their 80,000 overseers. The only conquest mentioned of Bimbisāra is that of the Aṅga country. So these villages of Magadha must have been acquired under the predecessors of Bimbisāra, who also appear to have made frequent attempts at the conquest of the Aṅga kingdom as well.¹⁸

¹¹ The Buddha in one of his 'previous births'—in the *Bhallatiya Jātaka*.

¹² Bigandet; *Legend of Gaudama*, Vol. II, page 115. ¹³ Early history of India, 3rd Edition, page 45.

¹⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. A. S. B.* 1909.

¹⁵ *Harsha Charita*: *Uchchvāsa* VI, page 223.

¹⁶ This may easily be considered a variant of *Kshatradharman*. For the next king Kshatrajit or Kshatraujas the *Mūṭya P.* has Kshemavit or Kshemārchis. For Mahāpadma, father of Bimbisāra, see Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha* (*Dulva* XI, f. 99). Prasēnajit appears in the *Divyavadāna* list, (Cowell's Edition, page 369.)

¹⁷ *Mahāvagga* V, 1;

¹⁸ The *Compeyya Jātaka*.

4. Beginnings of Empire—Bimbisāra.

The probable patronage of new religions and the expansion of Magadha dominion under the Rajas of Girivraja bore full fruit in the reign of Bimbisāra. He is named *Srēṇiya* (guildsman) in the Jain records, and is designated a *Vaiśya* in the Buddhist *Mahāvagga*.¹⁹ *Srēṇiya* was a common epithet of the king and not his proper name, as it is used only by the Jains. He married a *Vaiśālī* princess according to both the accounts, though the name of the princess is given differently by the Buddhists and Jains. The latter name her *Chellapā*, daughter of *Chêtaka*, *Rāja* of *Vaiśālī*, while the former identify her with *Vāsavi*, niece of *Gōpāla*. The *Vaiśālī* marriage is probably significant in this connection. *Vaiśālī* was a great commercial centre, as shown by the clay-seals²⁰ bearing inscriptions recently discovered there. We may naturally infer the expansion of commerce and growth of material prosperity in Magadha.

The *Vaiśālī* marriage may have been as much of political as of commercial significance. It was the seat of the *Licchavi* federation, whose power was so great and so little curbed in the distant isolation of the *doāb* of the Ganges and the *Brahmaputrā*, that we find connection with it giving prominence to the founder of the Gupta dynasty in later times. Bimbisāra had in his father-in-law a neighbour and ally, who could secure him immunity from disturbance on the North-Eastern frontier. By a second marriage with a *Kōsala* princess, Bimbisāra probably sought to disarm enmity in the west and he got a substantial cession of territory as dowry. The latter yielded a *lakk* a year and was given to the Queen as "bath and perfume money."²¹ After having strengthened his frontiers and secured allies east and west, Bimbisāra set seriously to work at completing the conquest of the *Aūga* kingdom, attempted unsuccessfully by his immediate predecessors. This conquest is referred to in the *Champeyya Jātaka*. It says that the *Raja* of Magadha was helped in this conquest by the *Nāgarāja* of *Kampilya*²² in the *Pañchāla* country. But the details of the conquest, or the occasion therefor, cannot be made out from the records available to us. All that could be said for certain is that the Magadha kingdom extended eastwards so as to comprise also *Aūga*, i. e., the modern *Bhāgalpur* and *Munger*. The expansion of Magadha and its growing importance led Bimbisāra to give up the unpretentious capital of *Girivraja* and build the stately one of *Rājagriha* at the base of the hill.²³

The religious movements of the time had their culmination in the reign of Bimbisāra. Magadha could not have been free at this time from the influence of the spreading religion of *Vāsudēva*²⁴ among the *Sūrasēnas* in the far west. For there is mention of *Baladeva* and *Vāsudēva* in the *Kamsa Jātaka* and of *Krishṇa*, son of *Dēvaki*, in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*, where the scene is mostly laid in eastern Hindustan. So too the religion of the *Buddhas*, or men of revealed learning, had made an impression at that time, the very cousin of *Buddha*, *Devadatta* being one of their devout followers.²⁵ To this period, also belongs the establishment of *Buddhism*, as the result of the systematisation of earlier doctrines by *Siddhārtha Śākya-muni*, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. The *Mahāvagga* says that the king was once rebuked by the *Buddha*, and that he assigned the bamboo-garden to the *Buddha* and his disciples. According to *Aśvaghōsa*,²⁶

¹⁹ *Mahāvagga* I, 50. ²⁰ Discovered by Dr. Bloch. See *Arch. Sur. Rep.* (Eastern Circle) for 1912.

²¹ See the *Vaddhaki-Sākara Jātaka* (No. 283) and the *Tachchhā-Sākara Jātaka* (No. 492).

²² The *Pañchāla* kingdom must have existed in Bimbisāra's time, as the *Purāṇas* premise its extinction only in *Mahāpadma*'s reign. (पाञ्चालाः पञ्चविंशतिः—*Māteya P.*)

²³ See *Jacobi*: Introduction to Vol. XXII of the *S. E. E.*

²⁴ Sir R. G. Bhandārkar has shown that the religion of *Vāsudēva* was contemporaneous with the rise of *Buddhism* and *Jainism*. It is referred to in the *Niddēsa*, *Pāṇini* and *Patanjali*, and in the *Indike* of *Magasthenes*. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg, 1913), pp. 3-13.

²⁵ On the *Adi Buddhas*, see Col. Waddell's article in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1914.

²⁶ *Buddha-Charita* XV, 100.

Bimbisāra abolished the ferry fee for ascetics. He was also a friend and relation of Yārdhamāna Mahāvira. Jaina tradition²⁷ of Bihar represents Bimbisāra as a devout Jain and credits him with the construction of many buildings in Bhāgalpur and other places. In the same period we have the formation of other sects, the most remarkable of which was that of the *Ājivikas* founded by Gōśāla.

Traditions differ as to the last years of Bimbisāra. There is a story in the *Dīgha²⁸ Nikāya* to the effect that the king was murdered by his son Ajātaśatru. It was developed into an impressive legend by the fertile imagination of later Buddhists. In the introduction to one of the *Jātakās*, for instance, we have a fanciful derivation given to the name. Even in his womb Ajātaśatru conceived a longing for his father's blood. Hence his name—"one who was a foe (to his father) while yet unborn!" The Burmese legend of Gaṇḍama²⁹ rounds off the story by saying that Ajātaśatru killed his father by starving him in prison. But there is some doubt as to the authenticity of the *Samāñña-phala Sutta*, wherein the story is embodied. The origin of the *Sutta* is given in the introduction to the *Sanjīva Jātaka*, which says that the *Sutta* was in two sections, whereas the *Sutta* now found in the *Nikāya* has no such division. Perhaps, the sentence which refers to the parricide, was added to the *Sutta* later on, another addition, evidently spurious, being made by the author of the *Jātaka*.³⁰ Further, the *Kuḷlavagga*³¹ distinctly states that Bimbisāra handed over the kingdom to Ajātaśatru. Jaina tradition of Magadha ignores the accusation of parricide, and the popular Sanskrit derivation of the name is "one who had no enemy born in the world." The parricide seems therefore to be as false as Kālasōka of the Vaiśālī Council, who likewise is not mentioned in the oldest account of the council in the *Kuḷlavagga*. There is no reason for disbelieving that Bimbisāra lived 80 years, and resigned the throne to Ajātaśatru a few years before his death. Deliberate resignation of the throne to a son is by no means a strange phenomenon in Indian History. Jains believe that Chandragupta Maurya resigned the throne to Bindusāra and went south with Bhadrabāhu.³²

5. Ajātaśatru and the foundation of the empire.

Ajātaśatru was the most famous king of the dynasty. The *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka* and *Kaushītaki Upanishads* have an Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, whom they speak of as a great king and as a patron of the Vedānta philosophy. The *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka* is one of the oldest among the *Upanishads*. This king, therefore, should not be identified with Ajātaśatru of Magadha who came several generations after him. Further, the *Upanishads* speak of him as king of Kāśī and of Videha, but they do not mention Magadha. The Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, belongs, in fact, to a time when Kāśī was the most prominent kingdom in Hindustan. The Buddhist records have vague traditions of such a time. The *Guṭṭila Jātaka* says, for instance, that Benares was "the chief city in all India."

Though our Ajātaśatru cannot be identified with his celebrated namesake of Kāśī, it must be remembered that both were kings of Kāśī. The *Purāṇas* are careful enough to state that Sisunāga was king of Kāśī before he became king of Magadha, and there is no evidence of Kāśī having been lost by the Magadhas at any later time before Ajātaśatru. It is possible that members of the Sisunāga dynasty adopted some of the names of their

²⁷ Ante, Vol. XXXI, p. 71.

²⁸ In the *Samāññaphala Sutta*. It had become an accepted tradition when the *Jātakas* were edited in the existing form.

²⁹ Bigandet: *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 261.

³⁰ Mr. Chalmers, the translator of the *Jātaka*, has these remarks: "The interpolation is interesting as suggesting the license with which words were put into the Master's mouth by Buddhist authors." (See *Camb. Trans.* Vol. I, p. 231 note).

³¹ *Kuḷlavagga* VII, 3, 5.

³² Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, (1909), Sec. 1.

predecessors on the throne of Kāśī. The Satāpatha Brāhmaṇa mentions Bhadrāsena Ajātasatruva i. e. as a son of Ajātasatru. A variant of the latter name is Bhadra Sreṇya mentioned in the *Vāyu P.* as king of Benares. The name Bhadra Sreṇya occurs also in the *Kūrma, Linga* and *Brahma Purāṇas* and in the *Harivamśa*. Sreṇya is a name for Bimbisāra in Jaina works. The name *Bhadra* occurs in Udayibhadra the founder of Pāṭaliputra and in Bhadramukha one of the epithets of Darśaka in Bhāsa's *Vāsavadatta*.

That Ajātasatru was a 6th Cent. (B. C.) Harsha or Akbar is evident even from Buddhist records. He was a follower of the "previous Buddhas" and built a hall for Dēvadatta at Gayāśisa³³. He was a devout Jaina, according to Behar tradition, who "ruled the country for 80 years according to the laws of his father."³⁴ One of his queens, Mallikā, was a follower of the Buddha. The king himself is credited with building a hall at Rājagriha 'for the Buddhists.' In the light of the general attitude of this king towards Buddhists we may interpret this to mean a hall of religious discussion rather than an abode of peace. But the later Buddhists could not conceive of such a king, except as coming to the Buddha as a penitent sinner, though they do not definitely say that he gave up Dēvadatta and became a follower of the Buddha. The legend to the last effect is probably not more than a few centuries old. It is found in the *Mālālaṅkāra Vattu* translated by Bigandet. It says that the first Buddhist Council was held with his consent, that he prepared a hall for holding it, that he clamoured for a share of the relics of the Buddha after the *Nirvāṇa*, and that he inaugurated the Buddhist era.³⁵ Even the latest addition to the *Jātaka* literature says of the king, that but for his joining Dēvadatta "he would have won the Arhat's clear vision of the Truth ere he rose from his seat."³⁶

Under Ajātasatru the territorial expansion of Magadha went on apace. His first war was probably with his uncle Pasenadi of Kōsala, who resumed the village of Kāśī given by Mahākōsala for his daughter when she married Bimbisāra. The opposing armies met and the Kōsala had the worst of it, when he was advised to change his tactics and feign a retreat. Posting his main army on a hill, and having his flank dominated by two hill forts which contained picked garrisons, Pasenadi allowed his enemy to pursue his retreat. Then Ajātasatru was caught by the retreating army turning right about, taken in front and rear, and compelled to give up his claim. But Pasenadi subsequently gave his sister's stepson his own daughter Vajirā in marriage with the same village as dowry as had been given to her aunt. For some years peaceful relations appear to have been maintained between the two kingdoms. But some unmentioned cause, perhaps the death of Pasenadi or Vajirā, led to a breach between the two kingdoms, and Ajātasatru expanded his dominion at the expense of Kōsala.³⁷

The next act of Ajātasatru was the war with Vaiśālī. He had been on terms of friendship with the Licchhavi princes who were his relations on his mother's side, and constructed a hall at Patna for receiving them. Soon, however, he developed designs of conquering his grandfather's kingdom. It was with this intent that later in the reign he fortified Pāṭaligrāma³⁸ on the northern bank of the Sōn near its confluence with the Ganges, and connected it by road with Kuśinagara. This was planned by his ministers Sunidha and Vaśśakāra.³⁹ We hear of it as a frontier village of Magadha in the

³³ *Mahilāmukha-Jātaka*, (No. 26).

³⁴ Bigandet: Vol. II, pp. 97, 113.

³⁵ The details have been made up from the *Hārta-Māta-Jātaka* (No. 239), the *Vaddhaki-Sākara Jātaka* (No. 283), the *Tachehka Sākara Jātaka* (No. 492.) The defeat of the Kōsala is mentioned in the *Kummārapīḍa-Jātaka* (No. 415).

³⁶ See S. B. E. XI, pp. 18-21.—Compare *Fo Shō* IV, 22 in Beal, S. B. E. XIX 240. See also Rockhill, p. 127.

³⁷ "To repel the Vajjians" (*Mahāvagga* VI 28). But Hemachandra (*Sthaviravajji-Charita*) attributes the building of the fort to Udaya.

³⁸ *Ante*, Vol. XXXI, p. 71.

³⁹ *Sanjīva-Jātaka* (Introduction).

penultimate year of the Buddha's life.⁴⁰ The Buddhist Suttas and the Burmese legend mention his fortification, and as the city of Paṭṭā quickly grew round the fort, we may assume that it had been the royal residence in the last years of Ajātaśatru. In the fight with the Lichchhavis also Magadha won the day. But it is not to be supposed that (Kōsala) and Vaiśālī became at once part and parcel of the Magadha empire. Their princes existed for two or three generations more, doubtless as vassals of the Magadha emperors. The last of the Purāṇic list of Kōsala kings is Sumitra, a great-grandson of Kshudraka (= Virudhaka).⁴¹ There is no evidence that Vesālī⁴² was considered part of Magadha before about 100 B. C., when one of the Magadha kings is said to have made it his capital. If this tradition is worth anything, it may be taken to indicate that Vaiśālī was then made the base of operations for further campaigns in the Lichchhavi country. The Magadha empire in the reign of Ajātaśatru must have extended north of the Ganges at least as far east as the Gandak, for we are told he constructed a road along that river, and provided it with resthouses at intervals.⁴³ This road probably served as the eastern line of defence north of the Ganges.

6. Expansion of the Empire.

The next king was Udaya whom Buddhist traditions consider a favourite son of Ajātaśatru.⁴⁴ In the fourth year of his reign he is said to have built the city of Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges.⁴⁵ This implies that the king abandoned Rājagṛiha for this more northerly seat on the Ganges, as a strategic measure for watching the Lichchhavis on the north. It is hardly likely that the expansion of Magadha went on far under this king, who had such able rivals as Chanḍa Pradyōta of Avanti and Yaugandharāyaṇa the minister at Kauśāmbī. The campaigns with the Lichchhavis probably continued during the reign, but they could have hardly led to any appreciable results. The Jains have a tradition that he was assassinated, and it is therefore likely that he ruled for 16 years as given in the *Dipavāmśa*, and not 33 as in the *Vishnu-Purāṇa*.

When the king was cut off, the court apparently moved back to Rājagṛiha, giving up for the time the campaigns against the Lichchhavis. Darśaka quietly succeeded and he seems to have been a very young man at the time.⁴⁶ But the political atmosphere of Hindustan was charged with electricity. Udayana of Kauśāmbī, a gay and light-hearted ruler, stood in imminent danger of losing his ancestral kingdom, where the discontent of the Vatsas was coming to a head under the arch-rebel Āruṇi.⁴⁷ The river Ganges was

⁴⁰ Kshudraka, the successor of Prasenajit in the Purāṇic list must certainly be identified with Virudhaka the successor of Pasenadi according to the Buddhist works.

⁴¹ Aśvaghoṣa: *Buddha Charita* (S. B. E. XIX, p. 249)

⁴² Represented by Basārī and Bakhira about 27 miles N. W. of Pātna (*Arch. Sur. Ann. Rep.* 1903-4 pp. 81-122.)

⁴³ Bigandet: *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 95. The mention in the same work of Ajātaśatru having destroyed Vesālī (II. 113) means therefore little more than a temporary victory over the Lichchhavis.

⁴⁴ Jain traditions also agree with this. They further add that Udaya himself was childless. The Purāṇas distinctly declare that Darśaka was a son of Ajātaśatru and that Udaya ruled after him. The Purāṇic order of rulers is, as we have seen elsewhere, not always correct. Putting all the traditions together, it appears highly probable that Udaya succeeded Ajātaśatru, and was succeeded by Darśaka, a younger brother of his, he being childless.

⁴⁵ स वै पुरवरं राजा पृथिव्यां कुसुमावृतं

गङ्गायाः दक्षिणे कूले चतुर्युगे करिष्यति ॥—(*Vāyu P.*)

⁴⁶ This may be inferred from several passages in Bhāsa's *Vāsavadattā*: (Trivāṇḍrum, 1912).

एष खलु गुरुभिरभिहितनामधेयस्य अस्माकं महाराजस्यैकस्य भगिनी. (page 4).

इयं तावत् भद्रमुखस्य भगिनिका (page 6).

It is noteworthy that Darśaka is not one of the *Dramatis Personae*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, page 60.

at this time the boundary between the Vatsas and Magadha, and there may have been a danger of the revolt being fomented by the latter power. Udayana had an able minister, by name Yaugandharāyaṇa, who appreciated the difficulties of the situation. Procuring the half-hearted consent of the Queen,⁴⁸ Vāsavadatta, daughter of Pradyōta, he gave out that she was consumed by the flames in a general conflagration at Lāvāṇikā, where 500 women of the harem actually perished.⁴⁹ Then he arranged the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī, sister of Darśaka. The marriage was of political significance to Udayana, as it meant not only Darśaka's abstention from actively helping the insurgents of the Vatsa country, but prompt aid in putting the rebellion down.⁵⁰ It is also of some social significance. Originally Nāgas by race, the kings had come to be looked upon as Vaiśyas, or at best as inferior Kshatriyas, in Bimbisāra's time. The Magadha princess was taken as the crowned queen of Udayana, a high class Kshatriya. Thus the Saiśunāgas were rising gradually in the social scale.

Nandivardhana and Mahānandin were the next two rulers of the dynasty. The *Purāṇas* know nothing more of them than their names, but the Buddhist records, which mention the names wrongly, embody traditions of some historical value. The first ruler they call Suśunāga and say of him that he transferred his capital to Vaiśālī "not unmindful of his mother's origin."⁵¹ This vague statement perhaps implies that king Darśaka of Magadha (whom the Buddhists call Nāga Daśaka) married a Vaiśālī princess. There is nothing impossible in this. The silence of the *Purāṇas* and Buddhist records about Darśaka, who is allowed a fairly long reign, combined with the fact that he was free to send his forces across the Ganges to help Udayana in putting down the Vatsa revolt, go to show that Magadha was free from disturbance on the eastern frontier. In keeping with the usual practice the war with the Licchhavis under Udaya may have ended in peace on the death of that king followed by a marriage relations, between the two kingdoms. The son of Darśaka, to have his capital at Vaiśālī, must have inherited that kingdom from his mother, or have conquered it by war. Veśālī is mentioned as a city of Magadha in the *Pārāyanavagga*.⁵²

Mahānandin was probably the ruler whom the Buddhists name Kālāsōka. The chronological results lead us to this conclusion. Kālāsōka is said to have reigned a century after the Buddha, and the Buddhist council is said to have been held in the 10th year of his reign. The date for Mahānandin is 88—116 A. B. The second Buddhist council should therefore have been held in this reign. This result is confirmed by the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of a council being convened by king Nanda and Mahāpadma.⁵³ Mr. Rockhill wonders why we have the singular number while we should expect the

⁴⁸ पूर्व स्वयामितं मतमेवमासीन् (Page 3) says Yaugandharāyaṇa to Vāsavadattā.

⁴⁹ When Udayana had been out a hunting.

„तस्मिन्नाजनि मृगयानिष्क्रान्ते मामशहेन वग्धा।” (page 11).

The same story is preserved in the *Dīyāvadāna* where 500 women of the harem are said to have perished. (Chap. XXXVI.)

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵² *Pārāyanavagga* I, 38.

⁵¹ Bigandet : Vol. II, p. 115.

⁵³ Rockhill : *Life of the Buddha*, p. 186.

plural, since there are two kings mentioned. According to my theory this objection vanishes. If the Nanda referred to is Mahānandin, Mahāpadma was only the crown prince, who helped his father in feeding the assembled brethren. Tārānāth also believes in the story that the brethren were fed by Nanda.⁵⁴ We have one more statement made of Kālāśoka, which should therefore be applied to Mahānandin. It is to the effect that he made Pāṭaliputra his capital.⁵⁵ As the Purāṇic list of Kōsala comes to an end with the contemporary of Nandivardhana, it has to be presumed that that kingdom was absorbed into Magadha in Mahānandin's reign.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENT IN HINDI SPEECH.

In his article 'On the non-Aryan Element in Hindi Speech' (ante, Vol. I, P. 103), Mr. Growse says that the proportion of words in the Hindi Vocabulary not connected with Sanskrit is exceedingly inconsiderable. In support of his theory, he derives from Sanskrit, five out of 26 Hindi words, which, Muir says, have no resemblance to any vocables in Sanskrit books, and says that the remaining words can also be derived from Sanskrit. I do not wish to discuss the accuracy of his derivations, but I should like to point out that five of the remaining words viz. 1. *jhagrā*, a dispute; 2. *āṭā*, flour; 3. *ghuṇṇā* = to gulp; 4. *khonṇā* = peg; 5. *śip* = a shell, can be traced back to the Dravidian Languages.

1. *Jhagrā*, a dispute. Platts in his Hindustani Dictionary does not give the derivation of the word at all. He does not even attempt to connect it with Skt. *jagara*, armour, which is derived by Bhanuji Dikshit in his commentary on the *Amara-kosha* from the root *jāgr*, to be awake. I am inclined to think that *jhagrā* is derived from Can. *jagaḷa*, Tel. *dzagaḷamu*, a quarrel, a dispute. Can. *jagaḷa* is considered by Dr. Kittel to be a purely Dravidian word. Tel. *dzagaḷamu* is also considered by Telugu Lexicographers to be a *Deśi* word. But Bhaṭṭakalaṅka's *Śabdāmuktāvaṇa* gives Can. *jagaḷa* as the Tadbhava of Skt. *jhakaḷa*, which, however, I have not been able to find in any Sanskrit Lexicon. It is not improbable that Can. *jagaḷa* is connected with Skt. *chagala*, a he-goat, which, as Fred Smith says, in his *World of Animal Life*, "is sometimes very quarrelsome, and will butt with his horns at any stranger."

2. *Āṭā* flour, may be derived from Pkt. *aṭṭa*, (Skt. *kaṭh*) to boil. Pkt. *aṭṭa*, can be traced back

to Can. *aṭṭu* (*aṭṭu*) to cook. Tu. *aṭṭil*, cooking. Tel. *aṭṭu*, a flat thin cake (roasted on an iron pan).

Cf. Skt. *bhakta*, 1. boiled rice; 2. any eatable grain boiled with water.

3. *Ghuṇṇā*, to gulp, may be derived from Pkt. *ghuṇṇa*. (Skt. *pa*), to drink, which can be traced back to Can. and Tel. *guṇṇu*, a gulp (perhaps an onomatopoeic word).

Cf. Brahmī *guṇ*, throat, Guj. *ghaṇṭi*, Sindhi *gāṭu* also Can. *goṭṭa*, a bamboo tube for administering food or medicine to animals.

4. *Khonṇā*, peg. Platts says the word may perhaps be derived from *khuffa* thus:

Khuffā = *khāṭ* or *khōṭ* = Pkt. *khuffa* (*i*) = Skt. *khōṭya* (*te*) pass. (used actively) of root *khōṭ*, v. t. to pick, pluck, pull out. (vide. Platts. *Hindustani Dictionary*).

But I think the word may be derived from Tam. Mal. Tulu. *kuffi*, stake, peg. We thus have the interesting analogy.

Kuffi; *khonṇā* : *guṇ*; *ghonṇā*, a gulp.

5. *Śip*, a shell is evidently derived from Pkt. *sippi*, which can be traced back to Can. *cippu*, *sippu*. Tam. *sippi*, an oyster-shell. Cf. Tel. *cippa* = a shell.

In this connection, I may also point out that Hind. Guj. *ṭāṭi*, P. *ṭāṭa* M. *id. B. ṭāṭi* in the sense of heel, which is derived from Skt. *amhri* (*aṅghri* 1), foot by Mr. Beames in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, Vol. I, can be derived from Tam. Mal. Can. *aṭṭi*, a foot, Tel. *aṭṭugu*, without violating the law enunciated by him, viz., "when a syllable having *a* for its vowel is followed by one having *i* or *u*, these latter sometimes exercise an influence over the former, either by entirely superseding it or by combining with it into the Guna vowel."

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⁵⁴ S. B. E. XI, page XIX note.

⁵⁵ Yuan Chwang (see Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 85).

MADHAVACHARYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS.

By RAO BAHADUR B. NARASIMHACHAR, M. A., BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 6.)

"Vidyāraṇya's great literary fame has so completely eclipsed his career as a soldier that no writer dealing with his life has hitherto taken any notice of it."

It is unthinkable that Vidyāraṇya, a *sanyāsi* and a writer on the *Dharmaśāstra*, could ever have exchanged the mendicant's staff for the sword.

There is a Smārta *maṭha* of the Bhāgavata-sampradāya at Talkad in the Mysore State, which is known as the Bālakṛiṣṇānanda *maṭha*. It is also sometimes called the Koppāḷa *maṭha* from a village of the name of Koppāḷa which belongs to it. The *guru* of the *maṭha* is said to be descended in spiritual succession from Padmapādāchārya, the immediate disciple of Sankarāchārya, the three *gurus* that came after Padmapādāchārya being Viṣṇu-svāmi, Kṣhīrasvāmi and Kṛiṣṇānandasvāmi. The god worshipped in the *maṭha* is Gōpāla-kṛiṣṇa. A palm leaf manuscript in the *maṭha* contains a copy of an inscription¹⁷ which registers a grant to the *maṭha* by Mādhava-mantri in Saka 819. There is an *anikat* or dam across the Cauvery near Talkad which is known as Mādhava-mantri's *kaṭṭe* or dam. The above manuscript has likewise the following verse giving Saka 816 as the date of the construction of the dam by Mādhava-mantri.—

शके षोडशनिश्रिताष्टशतकोट्यानदसंवत्सरे
वैशाखे सितसप्तमीभृगुदिने लग्ने च सिंहोदये ।
संतु माधवमंत्रिराट् करिवने ऽबध्नात्कवेरात्मजां
प्रत्युत्थामुर्वधिं वद्यात्स्वरिपुण्ड्रवद्विजानां कृते ॥

Kari-vana in the verse is a synonym of Gajāranya, the Purāṇic name of Talkad. A channel drawn off from the Cauvery near the Mādhava-mantri dam, which is known as Mādhavarāya channel, is also said to have been built by Mādhava-mantri. This Mādhava-mantri is in all probability identical with his namesake of whom we have spoken above, and the dates Saka 816 and 819 are no doubt pious mistakes for Saka 1296 and 1299 corresponding to A. D. 1374 and 1377.

Just as the military exploits of Mādhava-mantri have been ignorantly attributed to Mādhavāchārya, some of his literary works also have been fathered on the latter. As an instance, the commentary called *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Sūtasamhitā* may be mentioned. The following extracts from the commentary unmistakably prove that Mādhava-mantri, the disciple of Kāśivilāsa-Kriyāśakti, was its author.—

श्रीमत्काशीविलासक्रियाशक्तिपरमनक्तश्रीमत्सर्वब्रह्मपादाब्जसेवापरायणेन उपनिषन्मार्ग-
प्रवर्तकेन माधवाचार्येण विरचितायां सूतसंहितातात्पर्यदीपिकायां ॥
वैशाखप्रतिष्ठाया श्रीमन्माधवमंत्रिणा ।
तात्पर्यदीपिका सूतसंहिताया विधीयते ॥

इति श्रीमत्काशीविलासक्रियाशक्तिपरमनक्तश्रीमत्सर्वब्रह्मपादाब्जसेवापरायणेन उपनिषन्मार्ग-
प्रवर्तकेन माधवाचार्येण विरचितायां सूतसंहितातात्पर्यदीपिकायां ।

Still, the following verse shows the blind belief that विद्यारण्य was its author.—

श्रीसूतसंहिताव्याख्या विद्यारण्यकृता शुभा ।

And in the Poona and Bangalore editions of this work the name of Sankarānanda is substituted for that of Kriyāśakti !

Kriyāśakti appears to have been a prominent Śaiva teacher of the 14th century. Though Mādhavāchārya, in the introduction to his commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛiti*, calls himself the *kula-guru* of Bukka I. (तस्य विमोहभूत्कुलगुरुर्मेनी तथा माधवः) and Śāyaga, in the introduction to his *Yajñatantra-sūdhānidhi*, styles himself the *anvaya-guru* of Sanga-ma II, an inscription,¹⁸ of A. D. 1378, mentions Kriyāśakti as the *kula-guru* of Hari-hara II.—

विरूपाक्षः साक्षात्कुलपरमवैवं कुलगुरुः

क्रियाशक्त्याचार्यः कलिकलमकंदीरवयशाः ।

Two more inscriptions¹⁹ of Harihara II, dated A. D. 1398 and 1399, describe him as the worshipper of the lotus feet of Kriyāśakti.—

राजराजगुरुपितामहश्रीमस्त्वयंभुविश्वकदेवदिद्व्यश्रीपादपद्माराधकश्रीक्रियाशक्तिदेवदिव्य-
श्रीपादपद्माराधकश्रीवीरहरिहरमहाराजः ।

I have hitherto purposely avoided the name Vidyāraṇya when speaking of Mādhavāchārya, because, though the tradition that Mādhavāchārya acquired the title of Vidyāraṇya after he renounced the world and became a *sanyāsī* is generally accepted, some scholars seem to doubt their identity, owing to the absence of epigraphical or literary evidence to prove it conclusively. For myself, I do not remember having come across any inscription which states explicitly that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya were one and the same individual. But a few references to Vidyāraṇya in inscriptions and literary works seem to point to the identity of the two. I give below a few of these references.—

(1) In a work called *Tīthi-pradīpikā* by Nṛsiṃhasūri,²⁰ the author says in the introductory verses, which are given below, that *Kālanirṇaya* has been treated of by Vidyāraṇya and other authors.—

अनंताचार्यवर्णेण मंत्रिणा मंत्रिगुल्लु ना।

विद्यारण्यवर्तीद्राद्यैर्निर्णीतः कालनिर्णयः ॥

अनिदोषीकृतस्तैश्च मम विदुषा क्रियान् क्रियान् ।

तमहं मुस्फुटं वक्ष्ये ध्यात्वा गुरुपदांभुजं ॥

Now, it is well known that *Kālanirṇaya* was a work of Mādhavāchārya.

(2) In his *Vyāsasūtra-vṛtti*, Ranganātha says that his work is based on Vidyāraṇya's verses, in a stanza which runs thus:—

विद्यारण्यकृतैः श्लोकैर्नृसिंहाश्रमसूक्तिभिः ।

संदृष्ट्वा व्याससूत्राणां वृत्तिर्भाष्यानुसारिणी ॥

The reference here is clearly to Mādhavāchārya's *Vaiyāsika-Nyāyamālāvistara*.

(3) Ahōbala-paṇḍita, the author of a large grammar in Sanskrit on the Telugu language, who is said to have been Mādhavāchārya's sister's son, mentions Mādhavāchārya's *Dhātuvṛtti* as a work of Vidyāraṇya.—

देवानां भाष्यकर्ता विवृतमुनिवत्ता धातुवृत्तेर्विधाता

श्रीद्याद्विद्यानगर्भो हरिहरनृपतेस्सार्वभौमस्वदायी ।

वाणी नीलाहिवेणी सरसिजनिलया किंकरीति प्रसिद्धा

विद्यारण्योऽयमण्योऽभवदखिलगुरुः शंकरो वीतशोकः ॥

¹⁸ *Ep. Car.*, V, Channarayana 256.

¹⁹ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912, para. 99.

²⁰ Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library Catalogue, VI, p. 2341.

(4) It is said that the *Pañchadaśi-prakaraṇa* was composed partly by Bhāratīrtha and partly by Mādhavāchārya. Rāmakiṣṇa, who has written a commentary on the work, begins and ends his commentary with obeisance to Bhāratīrtha and Vidyāraṇya thus:—

नत्वा श्रीभारतीतीर्थविद्यारण्यमुनीश्वरौ ।

मयाद्वैतविवेकस्य क्रियते पद्योजना ॥

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीभारतीतीर्थविद्यारण्यमुनिवर्यकिकरेण श्रीरामकृष्णविदुषा
विरचिता पदगीपिका.

We may therefore presume that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya are identical. We have already seen that Bhāratīrtha was one of the *gurus* of Mādhavāchārya and the juxtaposition of his and Vidyāraṇya's names in the above extract may be taken to strengthen the above presumption.

(5) A copperplate inscription,²¹ dated A. D. 1386, gives the interesting information that Harihara II, described as the establiher of the path of the *Vedas* (वैदिकमार्गप्रतिष्ठापक) and a traveller in the path of *dharma* and Brahma (धर्ममार्गभ्रमन्), gave in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda, a copper grant to the three scholars—Nārāyaṇa-vājaṇṇayāji, Narahari-sōmayāji and Paṇḍari-dikshita—who were the promoters (*pravartaka*) of the commentaries on the four Vedas. We know that Mādhavāchārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the *Vedas*, and it is very likely that the grant was made at his instance to the above scholars for their co-operation in writing those monumental works. If Vidyāraṇya had been a different person altogether, there would have been no necessity to make the grant in *his presence*.

As far as I can remember, this is the only inscription that furnishes the important information that several scholars helped Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa in the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas. The three scholars mentioned above may be the progenitors of the three families which receive special honours even now at the Sringeri *maṭha*. An inscription,²² of about A. D. 1380, records another grant to Nārāyaṇa-vājaṇṇayāji, one of the above three scholars; and another,²³ of A. D. 1416, registers a grant to Vidyā... bhaṭṭa, son of Paṇḍari-dēva who is most probably identical with the Paṇḍari-dikshita mentioned above. It is to be regretted that only one plate of the inscription referred to in the previous paragraph is available. It is, however, interesting to note that this plate alludes to a former grant made in A.D. 1381 to the same three scholars by Harihara II's son Chikka-Rāya while he was the governor of Āraṅga. This grant consisted of lands yielding an annual income of 60, 40 and 50 *varaṇas* respectively.

This inscription makes it quite clear that Mādhavāchārya was a *sanyāsi* under the name of Vidyāraṇya in A. D. 1386. Another inscription,²⁴ dated A. D. 1378, tells us that he was a *sanyāsi* in that year, the grant recorded in it having been made by order of Vidyāraṇya. In the light of these facts the following statements, which are based on the wrong identification of Mādhavāchārya with Mādhava-mantri, are clearly untenable:—

"Mādhavāchārya acquired the title of Vidyāraṇya after he retired from worldly affairs and became a *Sanyāsi*. This event took place after the year A. D. 1391."²⁵

"The exact date at which Mādhavāchārya's tenure of ministership came to an end cannot be ascertained. Judging from epigraphical evidence it must have terminated after the year A. D. 1391."²⁶

²¹ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1908, para. 54.

²² *Ibid.*, Sringeri 34.

²³ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XXII, 370.

²⁴ *Epi. Car.*, VI, Sringeri 23.

²⁵ *Epi. Car.*, VI, Koppa 30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

I may also add here that another inscription,²⁷ which appears to be dated in A. D. 1377, also mentions Vidyaranya. We are therefore led to the conclusion that Mādhavāchārya must have been a minister sometime before A. D. 1377. According to tradition he died in A. D. 1386 at the ripe age of ninety. That he lived more than eighty-five years is made evident in the following verse from the *Dēvyaparādhasūtra*, a work said to have been composed by him :

परित्यक्ता देवा विविधपरिसेवाकुलतया
नया पञ्चाशतिरधिकमपनीते तु वयसि ।
इदानीं चेन्मातस्तव यदि कुरा नापि भविता
निरालंबो लंबोदरजनानेक यामि शरणं ॥

Before taking leave of Mādhavāchārya, it is necessary to say a few words about the authorship of the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, which is generally believed to be one of his works. The quotations given on page 2 make it abundantly clear that Māyāṇa was the father of Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa styles himself Māyāṇa-Sāyaṇa in accordance with the well-known practice of giving the father's name first. What do we find in the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*? The following extracts from this work plainly indicate that Mādhava, its author, was the son of Sāyaṇa :—

श्रीमत्सायणदुग्धाधिकौस्तुभेन महौजसा ।
क्रियते माधवार्येण सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहः ॥
श्रीमत्सायणमाधवः प्रमुक्तपन्यास्वत्सतां प्रीतये ।
इति श्रीमत्सायणमाधवीये सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे.

If Mādhavāchārya had been the author of the work, he would certainly have styled himself मायणदुग्धाधिकौस्तुभ and मायणमाधव; and, as far as we know, there is no other work of his in which he styles himself सायणमाधव. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Mādhava, the author of the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, is a different person altogether from Mādhavāchārya.

Who may this Mādhava be? I venture to think that he is the son of Sāyaṇa, the younger brother of Mādhavāchārya. From Sāyaṇa's *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi*, which was referred to on pages 1 and 2 and which will be noticed in detail further on, we learn that he had a son named Māyāṇa who was skilful in writing poetry and prose (मायण गद्यपद्यरचना पांडित्यमुन्मुद्रय). And the Conjeeveram inscription alluded to on page 2 is said to have the name Māyāṇa in the place where one would expect the name Mādhava. It may therefore be supposed that Māyāṇa is a corrupt form of Mādhava and that the Mādhava of the *Sarvadarśanasangraha* is identical with the Māyāṇa of the *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*.

Nor are other grounds wanting to support this conclusion :

(1) In the manuscripts of the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, the following sentence, which states that *Sāṅkara-darśana*, having been treated of elsewhere, has been omitted here, occurs at the end of *Pātāñjala-darśana* :—

इतः परं सर्वदर्शनशिरोमणिभूतं सांकरदर्शनमन्यत्र निरूपितमित्यत्रोपेक्षितं.

And the colophon at the end of *Sāṅkara-darśana*, which runs :—

इति श्रीसायणार्यविरचिते सकलदर्शनशिरोलंकाररत्नं श्रीमच्छांकरदर्शनं परिसमाप्तं.

attributes its authorship to Sāyaṇa. From this we have to infer that *Sāṅkara-darśana* having been treated of elsewhere by his father Sāyaṇa, Mādhava omitted to write on it in his work.

(2) It is believed that the *Sarvadarśanasangraha* was one of the earliest works of Mādhavāchārya, but there is internal evidence to show that it must have been written at least a generation after the time of Mādhavāchārya. Mādhava quotes two verses—*द्रव्याद्रव्यमनेशत्* and *द्रव्यं नानादेशवत्*—from the *Tattvamuktākalāpa*²⁸ of Venkaṭanātha or Vēdāntāchārya who died in A. D. 1370. He also refers to the commentary on Ānandatīrtha's *bhāṣya* in the sentence *शिष्टमानंदतीर्थभाष्यव्याख्यानादौ द्रव्यं*.²⁹ Here the reference is evidently to the commentary of the great commentator (Tīkāchārya) Jayatīrtha, who succeeded Akshōbhya-tīrtha. The latter, who was the fourth in apostolic succession to Ānandatīrtha or Mādhvāchārya, is said to have died in A. D. 1367.³⁰ Jayatīrtha is said to have been the *guru* of the *maṭha* for 22 years. So he must have died in A. D. 1389 or 1390. The following verse embodies a tradition that in a philosophical debate between Vidyā-rāya and Akshōbhya-tīrtha, the latter vanquished the former :—

असिना तत्त्वमसिना परजीविमभेदिना ।

विद्यारण्यमहारण्यमक्षोभ्यमुनिराच्छिनत् ॥

It is also stated that Vēdāntāchārya acted the part of an umpire in connection with the above debate. It is therefore clear that Mādhavāchārya, Akshōbhya-tīrtha and Vēdāntāchārya were contemporaries ; and Jayatīrtha, the successor of Akshōbhya-tīrtha, may have been a younger contemporary of Mādhavāchārya, as he is stated in the *Jayatīrtha-vijaya* to have come in contact with Vidyārāya. It is not unreasonable to suppose that at least a generation would be required for the works of Vēdāntāchārya and Jayatīrtha to get currency so as to be quoted by others. In these circumstances the *Sarvadarśana-sangraha* cannot be the work of Mādhavāchārya, but of some one who lived at least a generation after him.

(3) Mādhava begins his work with obeisance to a *guru* named Sarvajña-Vishṇu, who was the son of Śārṅgapāṇi. In no work of either Mādhavāchārya or Sāyaṇa do we meet with the praise of this *guru*. From the colophon to the *Tarkabhāṣā-vyākhyā*, we learn that its author Chennubhaṭṭa was the son of Sarvajña-Vishṇu, that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that he was patronised by Harihara II. It runs thus.—

इति श्रीहरिहररायपालितेन सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुदेवाराभ्यतनूजेन सर्वज्ञानुजेन चैतुभदेन विरचितायां
तर्कभाषाव्याख्यायां

An inscription,³¹ of A. D. 1380, which refers itself to the reign of Harihara II, mentions Sarvajña-Vishṇu-pura as another name of the village Homma. In his *Sāṅkara-darsana* Sāyaṇa quotes from Sarvajña-Vishṇu's *Vivaraṇavivaraṇa*.—

तदुक्तं विवरणविवरणे सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुमहोपाध्यायैः

From these references Sarvajña-Vishṇu appears to have been a contemporary of Harihara II and Sāyaṇa. Some would have us believe on the authority of the *Puṇyaślōkamañ-jari* that Sarvajña-Vishṇu was the name by which Vidyātīrtha was known before he became a *sanyāsi*. But this is not likely, as Vidyātīrtha must have died before Harihara came to the throne. In his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, under Sāyaṇa, Aufrecht says that Vishṇu-Sarvajña was Sāyaṇa's teacher, but it is not clear on what authority this statement is based. If this is true, Mādhava's *guru* was probably the son of Sāyaṇa's teacher Vishṇu-Sarvajña, who may have had another name Śārṅgapāṇi. This supposition derives

²⁸ *Anandāśrama Series*, p. 44.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁰ *Padmanabhaṭṭa's Life and Teachings of Madhvāchārya*.

³¹ *Epi. Car.*, IV, Chamaraṇanagar 64.

some support from the fact that Sarvajña-Vishṇu (i. e., Sarvajña's son Vishṇu), as stated by Chennubhaṭṭa, had a son Sarvajña, evidently so named after his own father Vishṇu-Sarvajña (i. e., Vishṇu's son Sarvajña).

I would close the account of Mādhavāchārya with a verse in praise of him from the *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa. This verse, by a pun on the words, likens him to Vishṇu.

अनंतभोगसंस्कीर्तितुंगवसेवितः ।

सन्निवः सर्वलोकानां ज्ञाता जयति माधवः ॥

Sāyaṇa.

Sāyaṇa was the minister of four Vijayanagar kings, namely, Bukka I, Kampaṇa, Sangama II and Harihara II. This is made evident in the colophons of his various works. Thus, in some of his commentaries on the Vedas he styles himself the minister of Bukka I (बुक्कभुवन्साम्राज्यधुरंधरेण सायणेन); in his *Subhāshita-sudhānidhi* he calls himself the minister of Kampa-Rāja (see page 2); in his *Dhātuvṛtti*, *Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi*, *Yajñatantra-sudhānidhi* and *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* he styles himself the minister of Sangama II; and in his commentaries on the *Satapatha*, *Taittiriya* and *Yajurveda Brāhmaṇas* he calls himself the minister of Harihara II. *Purushārtha-sudhānidhi* and *Āyurveda-sudhānidhi* are two more of his works. The latter, a medical work, is referred to in Sāyaṇa's *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* (आयुर्वेदसुधानिधिव्यसनिभिः श्रीसायणार्यैर्दत्तं श्रेष्ठं), and in a later medical work called *Pratīkṣāramāla* written under the patronage of Venkaṭādri-vibhu by Sṛīśailanātha, who says that an ancestor of his wrote a compendium of the *Āyurveda-sudhānidhi* at the instance of the minister Sāyaṇa.—

एकामनायो यत्नातः सायणामात्यचोदितः ।

समग्रहीत्सुबोधार्थमायुर्वेदसुधानिधिं ॥

The *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa is interesting in several ways. It gives a few hitherto unknown details about Sāyaṇa and his brother Bhōganātha, which are of considerable interest and importance. Before proceeding to notice those details, it may not be out of place here to give some account of the work itself. As may be inferred from the name, it is a treatise on rhetoric. Unfortunately the manuscript in my possession is fragmentary, containing only two *unmēśhas* or chapters and a portion of the third. The whole work appears to contain ten *unmēśhas*. One remarkable peculiarity of the work consists in the majority of the illustrative examples being in praise of the author himself. This peculiarity is not met with in any other Sanskrit work on rhetoric. When the rules as well as the illustrations are composed by the same author, the illustrations are, as a rule, in praise of some deity, or of some king or chief who was the patron of the author. The authors and works referred to or quoted from in the course of the fragment are the following :—

Authors—Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana, Udbhaṭa, Kuntaka, Gōpālasvāmi, Bhartṛhari, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Bhāmaha, Bhāsa, Bhōganātha, Bhōja, Mahimā, Rudraṭa, Vāmana, Vidyādhara and Sankuka.

Works—*Udāharāṇāmālā*, *Gaurināthāshṭaka*, *Bṛhatkathā*, *Mahāgaṇapatiśāstra*, *Mahāvīracharita*, *Mahimnastōtra*, *Mālatīmādhava*, *Rāmōllāsa*, *Lōchana*, *Vākya-padīya*, *Vēṇisamhāra*, *Vyaktivivēka*, *Sṛīṅārāprakāśa*, *Sṛīṅārāmañjari*, *Tripuravijaya* and *Vishamabāṇalīlā*.

Of the above works, six are by Bhōganātha, the younger brother of Sāyaṇa. These will be noticed later on when speaking of Bhōganātha. One of these, the *Udāharāṇāmālā*, appears to have been specially written in praise of his elder brother Sāyaṇa.

We may now proceed to give the few new items of information about Sāyana which can be gathered from the stanzas given as illustrative examples in the *Alaṅkāra-sūdhānī-dhi*. From the following stanza we learn that Sāyana had three sons named Kampāṇa, Māyana and Singaṇa, and that the first son was a musician, the second a poet and the third a Vedic student.—

तस्त्व्यंजय केषण व्यसनिनः संगीतशास्त्रे तव
प्रौढि मायण गद्यपद्यरचनापांडित्यमुमुद्रय ।
शिक्षां दर्शय क्षिण कर्मजटाचर्चासु वेपेष्टिति
एवान् पुत्रानुपलालयन् गृहगतः सम्मोदते सायणः⁴² ॥

Kampāṇa was apparently so named after Sāyana's patron Kampāṇa, father of Sangama II. Māyana was already referred to and identified with Mādhava, the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. That the king Kampāṇa died either before Sangama II was born or when he was a mere child, and that Sāyana administered the kingdom as regent during the minority of Sangama II, may be inferred from these verses.—

संगमैन्द्रनरैद्र त्वय्यकृतास्त्रपरिभे ।
विधायोर्वोधिुरमगान् स्वाराज्यं कषण ॥ कथं ॥
सत्यं महीं भवति शासति सायणार्ये
संप्राप्तभोगसुखिनः सकलाश्च लोकाः ॥
शौर्योच्छलसंगमेश्वरमहासाम्राज्यसंपादन-
प्रौद्यत्सायणमन्त्रिवर्यरभसभुण्णक्षमासंपदां ।
गूढं काननगह्वरेषु चरतामस्माकमद्युज्ज्वलै-
रेभिः किं घनगर्जितैर्मदनैः किं वा सहैतैर्हयैः ॥
सायणसचिवाद्यत्तं संगमराजस्य पदस्य राज्यमिदं ।

The following verses show that Sāyana himself taught Sangama II from his childhood and gave him a liberal education befitting his position.—

बाल्येऽपि प्रतिबोधयस्यवहितं श्रीसंगमरूपापतिं
बोधैकास्पद सायणार्यं नगवद्वयासावतार... ॥
आन्वीक्षिकयामधिकविहृतौ हर्षशोकव्युदासे
मार्गोल्लेखं विदधति नृणां मानवे धर्मशास्त्रे ।
सम्यक्शिक्षां सचिवगमितः शैशवे सायणार्यं
प्रौढि गावां प्रकटयति ते संगमैन्द्र ॥ प्रयोगे ॥

The epithet नगवद्वयासावतार, an incarnation of Vyāsa, applied to Sāyana, is noteworthy. His martial valour and conquests are referred to in the following extracts.—

अमुं शमितशात्रवस्थिरभुजावलंपोदयं
समीक्ष्य युधि सायणं समधिको भवेद्विस्मयः ।
नखाग्रहतवैरिणो नरहरैर्हरस्याथवा
नयांबुजदळोल्लसन्नयनमात्रदग्धद्विषः ॥
जगद्दीरस्य जागर्ति कृपाणः सायणप्रभोः ।
किमित्येते वृथादोषा गर्जन्ति परिपथिनः ॥
आकर्ण्य यात्रापटहप्रणाशनपोदनैस्तव सायणार्यं ।
अरण्यसिंहरिभूयतीनामाहन्यते चित्रगतोऽपि हस्ती ॥
समरे सपत्नसैन्यं सायण तव विवितं वहन् खड्गः ।
क्रीडति कैटभरिपुरेव विभ्रत क्रोडे जगत्त्रयं जलधौ ॥
विष्टया वैष्टिकभावसंभृतगहासंपद्विशेषोदयं
जित्वा चंपनरैद्रमूर्तिजितयशा ॥ प्रत्यागतः सायणः ॥

The last verse refers to a victory gained by Sāyana over a king named Champa. A king called Vira-Champa, the son of a Chōla king, is mentioned in an inscription, of Saka

⁴² In a recently discovered copper grant of Harihara II, dated A. D. 1377, Sāyana and his son Singaṇa figure as the donees. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1915, para. 89.

1236, at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District.³³ Champa conquered by Sāyaṇa may perhaps be the grandson of the above.

There is also a mutilated verse referring to an attack on Garuḍanagara by Sangama II and Sāyaṇa and the defeat of the chief of that place.

According to Aufrecht,³⁴ Sāyaṇa died in A. D. 1387.

Bhōganātha.

Bhōganātha, the younger brother of Sāyaṇa, was already referred to (page 3) as the composer of the *Biṭraguṇṭa* grant, in which he styles himself the *narma-sachiva* of Sangama II. The following verses from the *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* bear evidence to the intimacy between Sangama II and Bhōganātha and thus substantiate Bhōganātha's statement that he was an intimate companion of Sangama II.

अन्योन्यप्रणयापराधनिवृत्त्यावारहीनात्मनोः
देवीसंगमयोः पराङ्मुखतयाप्येकासने तस्युपोः।
मध्ये सायणमन्त्रिणा न भणितं श्रीभोगनाथेन वा
नोक्तं नर्मसखीजनेन च तदप्यन्योन्यमुद्दीक्षितं ॥
भूतः संगमैवस्य भोगनाथस्य वा कवेः।
वारणां वारणो वाय द्वारि प्रविशतां हि ये ॥

Though Bhōganātha was known to be a poet by reason of his having composed the *Biṭraguṇṭa* grant, no information was available as to any of his works. It is therefore gratifying to note that the *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* names and quotes from six of his works. Their names are (1) *Rāmollāsa*, (2) *Tripura-vijaya*, (3) *Uddharaṇa-māld*, (4) *Mahāgaṇa-pati-stava*, (5) *Sṛīṅāra-maṅjari*, and (6) *Gauri-nāthāṣṭaka*. In one place Sāyaṇa says, "Examples of the rules have to be sought for in Bhōganātha's works (तेषामुदाहरणानि भोगनाथकाव्येषु द्रष्टव्यानि), thus indicating the regard in which he held his brother's works. A verse from (4) was quoted on page 3 when speaking of the *Guru Srikanṭha*. Several of the verses quoted above in praise of Sāyaṇa's valour are from (3). A few verses will be given below from his other works, namely, (1), (2), (5) and (6).

- (1) शिशिरेषु शिलातलेषु रामस्तहमूलेषु तलोदरीं दरीषु।
सरसीषु च विश्रमस्य मुग्धां पथि पाषाणिनि तां शनैरनैषीत् ॥
- (2) उपर्यधोरचितमयश्च राजतं तयोर्द्वयोः कनकमयं च मध्यतः।
पुरत्रयं वहनविधेः पुरोऽप्यगात् सभूमतां स वहनतां सनस्मतां ॥
पौलोम्याः करजुगयञ्चवारिधारा वीर्या या दशशतलोचने पपात।
सा पक्ष्मच्यतिकरचोचरीकचञ्चनेचाजस्तवकभृदेकनाळमासीत् ॥
- (5) इषमृत्कुरंगनानितिलकैरिच्छां बुधमोदये
द्व्येकीभूतरक्षतन्यतिकरैर्व्याकीर्णचूर्णालकैः।
शाम्यत्कुंडलतांडवैश्चशिमुखीवक्त्रैस्तदा त्रीकृतै-
रभोविभ्रमद्वर्णैर्निजगदे संभोगलीलाश्रमः ॥

The verse beginning अन्योन्य, quoted above, is also from this work.

- (6) कटाय प्रसवाय शास्त्रपदवीशिष्टाय कांक्षानल
मुष्टाय प्रथमानमस्तरमुणाविष्टाय दुष्टात्मने ॥
रुष्टाय प्रतिपिष्टकार्यघटनातुष्टाय सृष्टागसे
गौरीनाथ मुणाधिनाथ जनक प्रीणानु मह्यं भवान् ॥

(1) and (2) appear to be *kāvyas* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. The quotations prove that Bhōganātha was no mean poet. He was a worthy brother of Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa.

³³ *Epi. Ind.*, III, 70.

³⁴ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 711.

THE NYASAKARA AND THE JAINA SAKATAYANA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, CHITTRASHALA, POONA.

(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 279.)

The remark in the *Kāśikā* runs thus :—

समानस्वेति योगविभाग इष्टप्रतिभ्यर्थे क्रियते । तेन सपक्षः साधर्म्यं सजातीय इत्येवमादयः
सिद्धा भवन्ति *Kāśikā*, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 283.

The words *साधर्म्यं* and *सजातीय* being provided for in Chandra's *Sūtra* (b), we are forced to look to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* (b), in order to find out what words constitute the *पक्षादिगण* mentioned in *Chandra-sūtra* (a). So *Chandra-vyākaraṇa* must be pronounced defective. Probably Chandra must have mentioned the words of his *पक्षादिगण* in the *Chandra-vṛitti* and in that case, the *vṛitti* must have been composed by Chandra himself. The course followed by Śākaṭāyana is decidedly superior. He says :—

सः समानस्य धर्मादिषु च II, 2, 109.

समान इत्येतस्य वृक् वृश् वक्ष इत्येतेषु धर्मादिषु चोत्तरपक्षेषु स इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यस्वापवादः ।
सवृक् । सवृशः । सवृक्षः । पतुर्नास्ति । सधर्मा । साधर्म्या (र्म्ये) । सपक्षः । सगंधः । सदेशः । सकरः ।
धर्मः । पक्षः । गंधः । देशः । करः । जाति (ती) य [i] ज्योतिस् । जनपदः । रत्नि । नानि । नाम ।
गोत्रः । रूप [i] स्थान । वर्णः । वयस् । वचनः । बंधुः । इति धर्मादयः । बहुवचनावकातिगणोयं ॥

Amoghavṛitti II, 2, 109.

The *धर्मादिगण* is as peculiar to Śākaṭāyana as the *पक्षादिगण* is to Chandra. Yaksha-varman has this *Sūtra* but without the *गण*, because his *Chintāmaṇi* is an abridgment of the *महती वृत्तिः* "the extensive commentary", which is no other than the *Amoghavṛitti* containing the *गणपाठ* peculiar to Śākaṭāyana's *Sabdānuśāsana*. Chandra has the following *Sūtra*

सर्वादयो वृत्तिमात्रे V, 2, 4.

and in the extract from the *Chandra-vṛitti* given under this *Sūtra*, we read कथं कुकुत्था अण्डम् । कुकुत्ताण्डम् । मृग्याः क्षीरम् । मृगक्षीरम्. The inference from this is that one *Sūtra* teaching पुंवद्भाव in मृगक्षीर, &c., which cannot come under सर्वादयः, has dropped out of the text of Chandra's *Sūtras* as they appear in the German edition. This is plain from the *Sabdānuśāsana* of Śākaṭāyana, where we have the following two *Sūtras* instead of one :—

सर्वादः सर्वोऽपि पुमान् *Amogh.* II, 2, 40.

मृगक्षीरादिषु *Amogh.* II, 2, 47.

The source of the *Chandra-sūtra* is not given in the German edition. It can be traced to the *Vārtika* सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Pāṇini II, 2, 26) and मृगक्षीरादिषु is taken from another *Vārtika* कुकुत्तादीनामण्डादिषु पुंवद्भाववचनम् in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Pāṇini V, 3, 42).

It is thus manifest that the internal evidence supplied by this *Sabdānuśāsana* is so strong, that it entirely agrees with the external evidence derived from epigraphic and literary references in supporting the conclusion that Śākaṭāyana himself wrote the *Amoghavṛitti* as well as the *Sūtras*.

The word *Vākya-pādiya* is mentioned as the name of a literary work in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 88). This work of Bhartrihari is also mentioned by Śākaṭāyana in his *Amoghavṛitti* (III, 1, 189) and by Hemachandra in his *Bṛihadvṛitti* (VI, 3, 20). Śākaṭāyana*

* By the expression केचित् Śākaṭāyana alludes to many authors whose works are now lost to the world.

has laid under contribution Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, *Chandrayākarāṇa*, *Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa* and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi. We also read :

अष्टावध्यायाः परिमाणस्य अष्टकं पाणिनीयसूत्रं ।

इशकं वैष्णव्या (या) प्रपदीय *Amogh.* III, 2, 161. *Kāśikā* IV, 2, 65.

श्रुतपालस्तु ग्रहणं मन्वते *Amogh.* IV, 1, 252.

एवमर्थस्य को नास्ति भाषावामिति श्रुतपालः ॥ *Amogh.* IV, 1, 253.

इशका उमास्या (स्वा) तीयाः *Amogh.* II, 4, 182.

Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha-sūtra* has ten chapters and is accepted as an authority by both the Digambara and Svetāmbara communities. The following remarks are most interesting :—

विशाखाभाषादन्वयद्वे III, 2, 120. Cf. Pāṇini V, 1, 110.

विशाखा आषाढ इत्येताभ्यां तदस्य प्रयोजनमित्यस्मिन्विषये अण् प्रत्ययो भवति । उणापवादः । मंधे दंडे चान्निधेये मंधनं मंधः विलोडनं । विशाखाः (खा) प्रयोजनस्य वैशाखो मंधः । वैशाखाभ्यां (वैशाख्यां) पौर्णमास्यां सर्वे गोमंतः सर्वे गोवोदं दधि (धी) भूतं शान्तमभिवृध्य (ह्य) र्थं मध्नेति मयित्वा गृहदेयताभ्यां बलिमुपहृत्या (त्य) अतिथिभ्यः प्रदायावशिष्टं स्वयमुरयुजते स मंधो वैशाखः । अस्य हि विशाखा प्रयोजनं । आषाढाः प्रयोजनस्य आषाढो दंडः । आषाढां पौर्णमास्यां वेणुं छित्त्वा सर्वमंधिर-
नुलिप्य स्वयमनुलिप्ताः सू (स) र्विणालंकृताः कुमारकाः तैनागाराण्यमिति स दंड आषाढः । तस्य आषाढाः प्रयोजनं ॥ *Amogh.* III, 2, 120.

Yakshavarman says :—

वैशाखो मंधः वैशाख्यां पौर्ण (णं) मास्यां मंधः पूजाविशेषः ।

आषाढो (ङी) दंडः । आषाढ्यां (ङां) पौर्ण (णं) मास्यां क्रीडाविशेषः । *Chintāmaṇi* III, 2, 120.

In my paper⁵ entitled *Bhāmaha's Attacks on the Buddhist Grammarian Jinendra-buddhi*. I have shown that Kumārila has severely attacked the authors of the *Kāśikā* for defending Pāṇini's terms जनिकर्तुः and तत्प्रयोजक and that the Nyāsakāra has not heard of Kumārila's criticism, while it is well-known to Haradatta, the later commentator of the *Kāśikā*. It is interesting to note here that the Jaina Śākaṭāyana, who has obviously heard of Kumārila's criticism, goes out of his way to defend these irregular compounds जनिकर्तुः and तत्प्रयोजक by admitting them into his *Amoghavṛtti*, though he is careful to avoid their use in his own *Sūtras*, as will be seen from the following passages :—

कर्मणि वा च II, 1, 48.

.....अपां लडा । पुरो भेत्ता ।

कर्मणीति किं । जनिकर्ता । गुणो गुणिविशेषकः । *Amogh.* and *Chintāmaṇi* II, 1, 48.

याजकादिभिः II, 1, 44.

.....आकृतियणोयं । तेन तत्प्रयोजकहेतुस्त्वस्यादि सिद्धं भवति ॥ *Amogh.* II, 1, 44.

The chronological relations between the authors whose works we are speaking of may be indicated thus :—

Bhartṛihari, the author of the <i>Vākyapadīya</i>	died A. D. 650.
Jayāditya, one of the authors of the <i>Kāśikā</i>	died A. D. 661.
The Nyāsakāra Jinendra- buddhi	A. D. 700.
Kumārila	A. D. 750.
Jaina Śākaṭāyana, con- temporary with Amogha- varsha I.	A. D. 814.

⁵ *Journ. Bom. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 18.

In my paper entitled Bhāmaha's Attacks on Jinendrabuddhi referred to above, I have stated that, according to an anonymous verse current among the Jainas in Southern India and a reference in the *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII, p. 268, Prabhāchandra is credited with the authorship of a *Nyāsa* on Śākaṭāyana's *Sabdānuśāsana*. Can this be reconciled with the date which we have assigned to Śākaṭāyana? This question can be answered in the affirmative, since Prabhāchandra, in his second work entitled *Nyāyakumudachandrodaya*, Idar MS. p. 249a cites the following verse from Guṇabhadra's *Ātmānuśāsana* :

अधावयं महानंधो विषयांधीकृतेश्वरः ।

चतुर्धांधो न जानाति विषयांधो न केनचित् ॥ *Ātmānuśāsana*, verse 35.

Guṇabhadra was the teacher of Kṛṣṇarāja II, while the latter was Yuvarāja. It is thus clear that Prabhāchandra lived on into the first half of the ninth century. It is possible that he may have written a commentary called *Nyāsa* on the *Sabdānuśāsana* of Śākaṭāyana, whose literary activity must be placed between Śaka 735—789. But to be able to pronounce a definite opinion on this point, we must wait till we have discovered at least one manuscript of the *Śākaṭāyana-nyāsa*. At the same time we must remember the interesting fact that in his first work entitled *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda* Prabhāchandra very frequently quotes *Sūtras* from the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*.

का हेनौ I, 4, 37. *Pramey.* Benares Ed. p. 2 (a).

कर्मणीप् I, 4, 1. *Pramey.* Benares Ed. p. 2 (b).

इयंभावे ना I, 4, 35. *Pramey.* Benares Ed. p. 26 (a).

तदंता धवः II, 1, 44. *Pramey.* Benares Ed. p. 209 (a).

प्राग्धोस्ते I, 2, 175. *Pramey.* Benares Ed. p. 209 (a).

The fact that *Jainendra-sūtras* are often quoted in the *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda* may only indicate that the first work of Prabhāchandra was composed before the accession to the throne of Amoghavarsha I.

Another commentary on the *Sūtras* of Śākaṭāyana, which deserves to be noticed here, is the *Prakriyā-saṅgraha* of Abhayachandrasūri, who is also well-known as the author of a Sanskrit commentary on the *Gomaṭasāra*, a work written in Māgadhī by Nemichandra to instruct his patron Chāmuṇḍarāja. At the end of each chapter of his Sanskrit commentary Abhayachandra calls himself Abhayachandrasūri, Abhayasūri or Sūri. In the concluding verses of the *Prakriyā-saṅgraha* we are told that :—

सूरी कृतिरियं

this is the work of Sūri, i.e., Abhayachandrasūri. His pupil Keśavavarṇi or Keśavaṇṇa, who has rendered into Canarese the Sanskrit commentary on the *Gomaṭasāra* alluded to above, says that he finished his work in Śaka 1281. From this fact it may be concluded that the *Śākaṭāyana-prakriyāsaṅgraha* of Abhayachandra was composed shortly before Śaka 1281.

As I have already said, the Jaina Śākaṭāyana has been undeservedly forgotten among the Svetāmbara Jaina community, being superseded by the more celebrated Hemachandra. But among the Digambara Jainas the belief is current that this author is identical with his celebrated namesake of antiquity. The elder Śākaṭāyana also enjoyed distinction as a great grammarian, being quoted by Kātyāyana in his *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya* IV, 127 and 189, by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* III, 4, 111 & VIII, 3, 18, and by Yāska in his *Nirukta* I, 4. Patañjali says :—

वैयाकरणानां च शाकटायन आह धातुञ्जं नामेति *Mahābhāṣhya* III, 3, 3.

वैयाकरणानां शाकटायनो रथमार्गं आसीनः शकटसार्थं शान्तं नोपलेभे *Mahābhāṣhya* III, 2, 15.

The latest reference to the elder Śākaṭāyana is the following :—

अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः *Kāśikā* I, 4, 86.

After the middle of the seventh century the elder Śākaṭāyana's work must have been lost beyond recovery. In the twelfth century Vardhamāna, the author of the *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī*, knows only the Jaina Śākaṭāyana, whom he frequently quotes. Bopadeva and Bhaṭṭojidikshita, who also often refer to the Jaina grammarian, speak of him as *Abhinava-Śākaṭāyana*⁶. Prof. Macdonell's description of him, as the pseudo-Śākaṭāyana,⁷ is hardly fair, considering the high place which this eminent Jaina author occupies in the history of Sanskrit literature.

⁶ Colebrook's Essays, Vol. II, p. 44. *Pravṛttamanoranā*, Benares Ed. Part II, p. 625.

⁷ *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* p. 432.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAGADHA.

BY S. V. VENKATESWARA AIYAR, M. A., L. T.; KUMBAKONAM.

II.

(Continued from p. 16.)

7. The First Emperors of Hindustan.

Mahāpadma was the first emperor of Hindustan. He was the son of Mahānandin by a Sūdra concubine. Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. V. A. Smith have said that he was the son of the queen by a barber paramour, but there is no evidence to this effect. The *Purāṇas* say that himself of servile origin, "he caused the destruction of Kshatriyas like a second Paraśurāma," that "urged on by prospective fortune he uprooted all Kshatriya families" and that he brought the whole of Hindustan under his umbrella and reigned sole emperor there.⁵⁵ This is no mere boast, as the several dynasties of North India come to an end about this period. Taking only the most important dynasties we get the synchronistic table⁵⁶ from the *Purāṇas* :—

<i>Magadha</i>	<i>Acanti</i>	<i>Kōśāmbī</i>	<i>Kōśala</i>
Ajātaśatru =	Chandā Pradyota =	Udayana =	Kshudraka (Virūdhaka)
Udaya	Pālaka	Ahīnara	Kundaka
Darśaka	Viśākhayāpa	Khandapani	Suratha
Nandivardhana	Janaka	Nirāmitra	Sumitra
Mahānandin	Nandi- Vardhana	Kshēmaka	

Consistently with their statement that Mahāpadma was the sole ruler of Hindustan, all the *Purāṇas* agree in winding up the dynastic lists of all other kingdoms—Kurus, Pāncalās, Aikshvākas, Kālakas, Haihayas, Kālingas, Sakas, Māthilas, Vītihōtras and Sūrasēnas. Perhaps, most of these kingdoms had lost their independence even before and had become tributary to the rising power of Magadha. Mahāpadma probably made them integral parts of the Magadha empire.

The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṣilya furnishes us with complete information as to the polity of Hindustan under the first of its emperors. That it describes a condition of things prior to the formation of the Maurya empire is clear from the fact that it assumes the existence throughout of small kingdoms independent of each other and makes no reference to an empire. Most of these arrangements and institutions were adopted by the Mauryas, as the *Indike* of Megasthenes confirms in many respects the data of the *Arthasāstra*. A few points of importance may be noted in which pre-Mauryan conditions, as revealed in the *Arthasāstra* differ from Mauryan conditions as observed by Megasthenes and preserved in the well known fragments of his work. The admiralty and commissariat departments

⁵⁵ The expression is significant :

एकराट् स महापद्मः एकच्छत्री भविष्यति ।

⁵⁶ There are, of course, variant readings of the proper names. But the number of generations given is sufficient for our purpose, as is clear from the extracts given from the *Vishnu-Purāṇa* Book IV.

of the army were non-existent in the earlier period. In civil government a Privy Council of 12 or 16 members (or of a smaller number according to exigencies)⁵⁷ is found working in the early period, but it is not mentioned by Megasthenes. The military and municipal boards mentioned by Megasthenes are not found in the *Arthashastra*, which assumes that these departments were presided over by single officials.⁵⁸ Certain forms of torture, not existing under the Mauryas, existed before their time.⁵⁹ Lastly during the period before us there were independent tribal communities⁶⁰ within the Magadha empire, implying that the emperors did not interfere with the constitutions of conquered cities.

Legend has largely gathered round the person of the last of the Nandas, who is named Sahalya by the *Purāṇas* and Sahalin by the Buddhists. During his reign there was such an extraordinary growth of material prosperity that he became a by-word for avaricious hoarding of wealth, and his treasures were spoken of centuries after his death. They were pointed out to Yuan Chwang as contained in five *stūpas* near Pāṭaliputra.⁶¹ The parsimony and avariciousness of Nanda the last are confirmed by the *Mudrārākṣhasa* tradition.

8. The Revolutions.

All this time the extreme west of India, the plains of the Panjab, were little affected by the events in the east, cut off as they were from that region by the deserts of Rājputānā. Taxila was, however, an eminent place of learning, whither went for education youths from distant Aṅga and Magadha. Between 516 and 485 B. C. Darius Hystaspes had an Indian province in his Persian Empire and Indian soldiers were fighting at Marathon side by side with the Imperial army against the Greeks. Soon after, however, Western India seems to have broken away from Persia. When Alexander invaded India there were numerous Indian Princes in the Panjab and Sindh, Porus and Amphi being the chief. These were not in a position to beat the Greek monarch single handed and the civil war in Magadha made Magadhan designs impossible in this region. The withdrawal of Alexander coincided with the efforts of Chandragupta Maurya to usurp the throne of Sahālyā.⁶² Chandragupta found that the strategems of Chāṇakya placed the whole of Hindustan like ripe fruit into his hands. He was, therefore, in a position to bring the extreme west of Hindustan also within the limits of the Empire.

How these revolutions were accomplished we can learn from the traditions that have been preserved. That the opposition to Chandragupta was by no means weak stands clearly in the evidence. The *Purāṇas* say that Chāṇakya took twelve or sixteen years to conquer Magadha for Chandragupta and himself remained minister for several years more. The *Mudrārākṣhasa* tradition implies that the Nandas had strong partisans, who would fight to the death on behalf of their master. It is difficult to believe that any minister, however

⁵⁷ "यथासामर्थ्यं" इति कौटिल्यः ।

Arthashastra, (Mysore, 1909) page 29.

⁵⁸ Lists of officials are given *ibid*, in pp. 20-22

⁵⁹ See punishments given on pages 221, 222. Among others मुण्डनमिदकाशकलेन । the crime being a petty theft of less than two *paṇas*.

⁶⁰ कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुलसङ्घो हि कुर्जेयः ॥
(p. 35 *ibid*).

⁶¹ Beal *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁶² The *Purāṇas* say that Kauṭilya took 12 or 16 years to make an end of the (Saisunāga) dynasty. Allowing for exaggeration, it may have taken a few years at least. Hence the statement in the text.

great a master of statecraft, as Chāpakya was, could have supplanted a reigning emperor on the throne, an emperor whose army was doubtless extensive and efficient.⁶³ According to the *Jātakas* and the *Arthaiśāstra* of Kautilya, the army was no mere rabble, but was splendidly organised in various arrays—in the form of a lotus, or of a waggon, or of a circle. Nor have we clear evidence that any part of the army deserted to the Maurya, nor that he had anything like the means required to raise forces equally strong. There could have been no national discontent in any of the provinces of the empire, for each conquered tract was apparently allowed to retain its old institutions. When Kautilya says कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं and cites the Licchhavis as an instance, we presume that the tribal republics of the clans were not stamped out by the autocracy of the Śaisunāgas. So too the rules of international law given by the author of the *Arthaiśāstra* indicate that the kingdoms of the empire enjoyed a large measure of autonomy within the imperial jurisdiction. Only one explanation seems possible of the Maurya usurpation—that Chandragupta had the assistance of some foreign powers to back up the diplomatic efforts of Kautilya.

We have to rely mostly on the Greek writers as to how Chandragupta conquered Magadha, as Chāpakya never drops a hint on the subject. A curious story is given by Justin.⁶⁴ Chandragupta became king in a miraculous fashion with the help of a lion and an elephant which came to him. This is a legendary way of representing the fact that he received substantial aid from kings, whose emblems were the lion and the elephant. The kings of Kalinga had the elephant as their emblem. There is even now an important town there named *Gajapatinagaram*. As late as Kālidāsa's time the kings of Kalinga were famous for their elephant force.⁶⁵ Ancient dynasties of Kalinga are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, and we find that the Kalingas were an independent kingdom in the account of Megasthenes. If then the ruler of Kalinga helped⁶⁶ Chandragupta Maurya in effecting the dynastic revolution at Magadha, we could easily explain why it remained unconquered under the first two Mauryas. A breach in the relations of the two kingdoms in Aśoka's reign led to his conquest of Kalinga.

The other kingdom which assisted Chandragupta may be identified with *Simhapura* or Salt Range, where was a kingdom of as ancient fame as Taxila. The chief of that region Saubhanti was one of those who readily submitted to Alexander.⁶⁷ It is possible that when the death of the conqueror became known, he gave up the cause of the Greeks and allied himself with the rising Maurya power, taking advantage of the general Hindu rebellion that was set up against Macedonian rule in India.⁶⁸

Having expelled the Macedonian garrisons, Chandragupta won from Seleucus the cession of Ariana, including Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Makran. On the western side the empire now extended as far as the Hindu Kush. On the east, probably the river Brahmaputra formed likewise a scientific frontier. On the south, there is no clear evidence that the empire extended beyond the Vindhyas. The Aśoka inscriptions in Mysore

⁶³ According to Greek writers it amounted to 80,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots and 6,000 elephants.

⁶⁴ Justin's *Historiae Philippicae* Book XV, Translated by McCrindle (*Invasion of Alexander the Great*. See pp. 327, 328).

⁶⁵ *Raghuvatsā*, Canto. IV verse 40, where Kalinga Raja is styled मञ्जसाधनः ।

⁶⁶ The passage in Justin is to the effect that the elephant "fought vigorously in front of the army" of Chandragupta and the lion "first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne." McCrindle, *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁶⁷ V. A. Smith; *Early History of India* (1914) page 80.

⁶⁸ I am unable to accept Mr. Jayaswal's conjecture (See *ante*) as to Chandragupta receiving help from the Aratta robber-tribe. That view is based on the torturing of a text which is easily explained as it is. द्विष्टनिः is simply 'in twice eight' i.e., 16 (years). One Vāyu MS. has द्विष्टनिः 'in 12 years.' This agrees with the Mātaya version समे द्वादशनिस्तुवान्. It is beyond doubt that the passage refers to years (12 or 16) and not to any tribe.

should be interpreted as representing those regions rather as friendly states than as integral parts of the empire.⁶⁹ The expansion southwards was along the east and it did not proceed farther than Kalinga, which was conquered by Aśoka in the 9th year of his reign.

9. Summary of results.

1. Śiśunaga. c. 608—590 B. C.

Probably of Nāga extraction. Established his son at Benares after supplanting the Brahmadata dynasty, and himself at Girivraja in Magadha.

2. Kākavarṇa. c. 590—564 B. C.

Viceroy at Benares under his father 'Fond of Marvels.' Tolerated dissent in religious matters. Assassinated.

3. Kshēmavarman. c. 564—544 B. C.

Alias Prasēnajit (Buddhist and Jaina tradition). A great conqueror.

4. Kshatrajit. c. 544—520 B. C.

Alias Mahāpadma (Buddhist tradition). The first of the Nandas. *Expansion of the Magadha kingdom*: '80,000 villages.' Attempts at the conquest of Aṅga.

5. Bimbisāra. c. 520—492 B. C.

Alias Srēṇīya (Jaina). Marriage with princesses of Vaiśālī and Kōśala. Growth of material prosperity under 'the Vaiśya king.' Conquest of Aṅga effected with the aid of the Rāja of Kampilaya (the Pāṇchālas). Patron of Buddhism and Jainism. Contemporary of the Buddha. Foundation of Rājagriha. Handed over the kingdom to Ajātaśatru.

6. Ajātaśatru. c. 492—460 B. C.

Alias Kūṇika (Jaina). Contemporary of Vardhamāna Mahāvira.⁷⁰ Patron of religious controversies—Ādi-Buddhism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Successful wars with Kosala and Vaiśālī. Fortification of Pāṭaligrāma by his ministers.

7. Udaya. c. 460—444 B. C.

Growth of Pāṭaligrāma into the city of Pāṭaliputra. War with the Licchhavis of Vaiśālī continued. Assassination of Udaya.

8. Darśaka. c. 444—420 B. C. *alias* Nāgadasaka (Buddhist).

At Rājagriha. Marriage of his sister Padmāvatī to Udayana of Kauśāmbī, followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Kausāmbī.

9. { Nandivardhana. c. 420—398 B. C.
- and {
10. { Mahānandin. c. 398—370 B. C.

Incorporation of Vaiśālī. Capital for a time at Vaiśālī. Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī. Capital again moved to Pāṭaliputra.

11. Mahāpadma. c. 370—342 B. C.

First Emperor of Hindustan. Other ancient kingdoms of Hindustan—Avanti, Kauśāmbī and Kōśala—are absorbed into Magadha.

12. Sahalya. c. 342—320⁷¹ B. C.

Avaricious. Civil War in the last years of his reign. Usurpation of the throne by Chandragupta Maurya, with the aid of the kings of Kalinga and Simhapura.

⁶⁹ On this point I am unable to agree with Mr. Smith and Prof. Rapson. (*Ancient India*, 1914).

⁷⁰ That Mahāvira was a younger contemporary of the Buddha.

⁷¹ The date according to Prof. Hultzsch of the beginning of Chandragupta's reign. (*J. R. A. S.* 1914.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION VII.

The Naik Finance.

(Continued from p. 118.)

IN spite of the defects which I have pointed out in the Naik administrative machinery, central and local, which Viśvanātha and his minister established or perfected, there is no doubt whatever that it was eminently suited to the people and the times. It was this eminent suitability that enabled the dynasty of which Viśvanātha was the founder to be in power for nearly two centuries. But it is not in the field of politics alone that we see the organizing and systematising genius of Viśvanātha (or his minister). His statesmanship and skill is seen in the financial administration also, which he placed on a comparatively sound and healthy basis. It is indeed true that, so far as he himself was concerned, he was more a sacrificer⁵⁷ than a gainer. The difficulties of conquest and settlement and the shortness of his rule did not enable him to reap the harvest of his reforms. They went only to impoverish him, as he expended all the gigantic accumulation of property, which his father had made, and which he of course inherited. But what he gave his successors got. By freely placing his private resources at the disposal of the State, he weathered it through a time of stress and trouble, organised in the meantime an elaborate financial system, and thus placed the crown of his successors on the rock of security. The use of his private wealth was thus more or less an investment, and eloquently proves to us that he was not only an eminently wise man, but a good man.

Nelson's view of the total Revenue of the kingdom.

IN the description of the Naik financial system, which, we may believe⁵⁸, was shaped after the model of the Vijayanagar system, we have naturally to devote our attention to three questions closely connected with each other,—namely the total revenue that was collected by the State, the various sources of taxation, and the comparative heaviness or lightness of the financial burden, when compared with the burden of later days. As regards the total revenue of the Karta, one way of finding it out is by ascertaining what he paid as annual tribute to his Vijayanagar suzerain. We find nowhere a definite statement of the tribute in the chronicles. But a Jesuit father who lived in the first decade of the 17th century, i. e., half a century after Viśvanātha and a decade or so before Tirumal Naik, says that "The great Nayakers of Madura, like those of Tanjore and Gingee, are themselves tributaries of Vijayanagar, to whom they pay, or ought to pay, each one an annual tribute of from six to ten million of franks." In English money this would range from £240,000 to 400,000. And as the tribute was a third of the total revenue,⁵⁹ it is plain that the income of the Naik State should have been from £720,000 to

⁵⁷ The Chronicle *Hist. Carna. Dynas.* clearly shows this.

⁵⁸ See *Mys. Gazr.*, I, 578-88, for the most complete and detailed discussion of the Vijayanagar system. Rice points out how in the time of Krishnadeva Rāya and Achyuta, the revenues "were first reduced to a regular form, checked by ordinances, and a system of accounts and management introduced, calculated to improve the revenue of the empire. . . ." These regulations or *rāyarīkhas* fixed the revenues, duties and customs, etc. and were transmitted to all the local officers in villages, towns, and Nāḍus.

⁵⁹ Nuniz, however, writing in the time Achyuta Rāya, says that out of the total revenue of 120 lakhs of *pardaos*, presumably, throughout the provinces, 60 lakhs had to be given to the Emperor (*Forq. Empe.* 373). But when he describes individual cases (*Ibid.* 384-9), he almost always gives the proportion of one-third. Rice gives 81 crores of Avakōṭi *chakrams* or pagodas as the total revenue on the authority of some MSS. It is evidently an exaggeration. See *Mys. Gazr.*, I, p. 578.

£1,200,000. Mr. Nelson assumed the latter amount as the normal income, on the ground that Madura was the richest of the imperial divisions. The *Karnāṭaka Rājas-Saviṭāra-charitra* says that each of the three provinces of Tanjore, Jingi and Madura had an equal revenue of one crore, but a crore of *what* it does not specify, and is therefore useless for our purpose. One of the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* gives the valuable information that Tirumal Nāik gave a grant of 1,000 *pons* out of every lakh of his revenues to the Madura temple, and that in this way he endowed lands to the annual value of 44,000 *pons*.⁶⁰ This clearly proves that his whole revenue amounted to 44 lakhs of gold *pons*, i. e. 22 lakhs of pagodas, as a *pon* was half-a-pagoda. In terms of English money this would amount, according to the then value of the pagoda⁶¹ (7s. 6d.) to £825,000. Mr. Nelson equated it to £880,000. At the same time he held that this amount did not include the whole revenue, but only the income from the crown lands, that is, from the provinces which were under the direct rule of the Karta or his representative. "The lands granted," he says, "must have been crown lands, under the king's own management and altogether at his disposal, or they could not have been granted, and therefore the revenue yielded by them amounted, as stated, to one per cent., on the total revenues derived from the king's lands, the inference is that the lands intended were the crown lands, and that they yielded no less than 44 lakhs of *pons* or £880,000 per annum."⁶² The attribution of the whole of the 44 lakhs of *pons* to the department of the land revenue from the crown lands, necessarily made Mr. Nelson inquire into the other great sources of revenue; and he concluded that these other sources can be brought under two heads, the tribute paid by the Polygars, and the taxes other than the tax on land. What was the total amount of the *tribute* that came to the Karta's treasury? And what was the total income from the other taxes? Mr. Nelson acknowledges that there are no materials from which we can directly arrive at an approximation of the former. But he points out that in the year 1742, the *pālayams* of the Diḍḍigul district, twenty in number, brought a total tribute of Rs. 350,000. Each *pālayam*, in other words,

⁶⁰ The exact value of the *pon* is uncertain. Elliot points out that it is the name of the earliest gold coins of India, derived from Kaṣanju and weighing about 52 grains. It is identical with the Kanarese *hon* and the Muhummadan *hun*. In the mediæval period, it became general under the name of *varāha* or pagoda, containing the normal weight of 52 grains. (See Elliot's *Coins of S. India*, p. 54). But the majority of numismatic scholars agree that the *pon* was half-pagoda. As Moor says, the Hindustani name for pagoda, *hun*, is only derived from the Canarese *honnu* (Tamil *pon*) "the designation of the half-pagoda." See *Hindu Pantheon*, 1864, p. 310-11; Thurston's *coins of E. Ind. Co.*, p. 7; *J. A. S. B.*, 1883, p. 35. "That the Muhummadans should have adopted this corruption of the Canarese term for the coin is explained by the fact that, when they invaded the Carnatic, they first saw the pagoda or half-pagoda in the hands of a Canarese-speaking people. According to Sir Walter Elliot, the term *Varāha* is never used in ancient Tamil records in connection with money, but the word *pon* which was a piece equal to the modern half-pagoda the pagoda itself being the double *pon*, which ultimately became the *Varāha*." (The italics are mine). See Thurston's *Coins of E. I. Co.* p. 12. Rice says: "A half-pagoda, was called *pon* or *hon*, and at a later period, under Vijayanagar, also *Pratāpa*." *Mysore*, I, 801.

⁶¹ That the pagoda was exchanged in Masulipatam and in the Coromandel coast for 7s. 6d. is amply proved by the *E. I. Co. Factory Records*, 1618-21, p. 158, 152, etc. The pagoda was indeed of various types containing different degrees of pure gold; but the differences were not very great, and we may take its weight roughly at 52½ grains. The Mysore pagodas, for example, had the weights of 52.7625 grs., 52.8, 51.32, 51.9125, 52.5, 52.7125, 52.825, etc. The Madras pagodas, 53.62 grs.; Portonovo pagoda, 52.2 grs.; star pagoda of Madras 51.65 to 52.6625 grs.; Caramutty pagoda (Masulipatam, Cocanada, etc.) 52.55 grs. The Madura pagoda must have been thus approximately of the same weight. See Bidie's *Coin Collections of Madras Museum*, pp. 41-9 for the different types of pagodas current in the mediæval period. It is unnecessary to quote other authorities for the sterling value of a pagoda. Nevertheless we may note that Wilks says that 5000 pagodas were equal to £1,840 (see *Mysore*, I, 23), which makes the pagoda equal to 7s. 4d.

⁶² *Madura Manual*, p. 153.

brought an average of Rs. 17,500. And as the Nāik kingdom had 72 *pālayams*, he calculated that the total tribute they paid to the central government amounted to Rs. $72 \times 17,500$ or Rs. 12,60,000. But in 1742 affairs were unsettled, and the revenues in consequence low. Mr. Nelson allowed an addition of 50 per cent. for the more secure government of the Nāik age, and so arrived at the figure of Rs. 18,90,000, i. e. £189,000 in English money.⁶² His conclusion in other words is that, while the crown lands brought in a revenue of £880,000, the tributes of Polygars contributed only £189,000. With regard to the taxes of non-agricultural nature, Mr. Nelson surmised that the income from them must have been about one-eighth of the total income of the State, and fixed it at £131,000. So his calculations of the Nāik's revenue came to the grand total of £1,200,000. And this he, points out, tallied with his supposition that the Nāik of Madura should have contributed £400,000 to the imperial treasury at Penukonḍa or Chandragiri, every year.

His views criticised.

The conclusions of Mr. Nelson, however, seem to me to be open to criticism. He has, in the first place, no sound reason to suppose that the Madura province was the richest of the imperial provinces and contributed more than every other province to the imperial treasury. It is true that it was the most extensive province; but it does not follow from this that it was the richest province. The chronicles clearly tell us that there were more forests, waste lands, and uncultivated lands there, than perhaps in any other province. It would be therefore more correct to fix the amount of the tribute of Madura at about £250,000 than at £400,000. A most interesting and corroborative proof of the correctness of this more moderate estimation is afforded by the statement of the Portuguese traveller Barrados⁶³ in 1616, that the Madura Nāik's tribute was 600,000 pagodas, i. e. £225,000. Even supposing, for argument's sake, that Barrados's statement is too moderate, we can have no justification whatever for pushing the amount higher up than by £50,000, that is to say, for fixing it at about £275,000. And if this is accepted, it will naturally have also to be accepted that the total revenue of Madura should be thrice £275,000 or £825,000. And that was exactly what the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* say, as I have already pointed out. If, however, Mr. Nelson's equation of values is taken it will be £880,000. Now the point to be remembered is this sum of £825,000 (or £880,000, according to Nelson) is the whole revenue of Madura and not the land revenue from crown lands alone. The MS. chronicle does not say that it was a section of land revenue alone. On the contrary it distinctly says that it was the total revenue of the State. Mr. Nelson is not justified in swelling the revenues by attributing the whole to a part. The sum of £880,000 in short—I shall just for argument's sake take the sum as given by Mr. Nelson—included the rent from the crown lands, the tribute from Polygars and feudatories, and non-agricultural taxes.

The real total revenue and its three divisions.

The total revenue of Madura, then, was £880,000, to take the most exaggerated view, and not £1,200,000 as Nelson thought. This sum of £880,000 should have been derived from the three sources, from the land directly under the crown, from the tributes of vassal chiefs, and from various taxes. Now, what proportion did the land revenue bring? Here I agree with Nelson in thinking that the crown lands brought far more to the treasury than the *pālayams*.⁶⁴ I agree with him in his statements that, though less extensive, the crown lands were more fertile, better situated, and better cultivated, and that the revenues from them were more than four times the tributes collected from the Polygars.

⁶² *Madura Manual*, p. 153.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See *Forgotten Empire*, p. 230.

⁶⁵ As Nelson says that the income from crown lands was £880,000 and that from tributes £189,000, he evidently thought that the former was 4·6 times the latter. His theory seems to be a sound one.

Mr. Nelson's estimate of £131,000 for other sources of revenue seems to be equally plausible. It can be inferred then that out of the sum of £880,000, the minor taxes brought £130,000 roughly; and of the remaining £750,000, about two-ninths of it, i. e., £166,000, came from tribute, and the balance, £584,000 ought to be allotted to the income from crown lands. Expressing this, for purposes of comparison, in terms of silver money, we have to remember that the relative value of gold and silver was not the same throughout the period ranging from 1560, when the Nâik dynasty was established, to 1740 when it practically ended, and that the silver value could not be the same throughout this period. Before 1600 the relation between gold and silver⁶⁷ was 1 to 10; after that date the value of gold increased. In 1605 it was 1 to 12; 1 to 13 in 1610; 1 to 13.3 in 1619; 1 to 14.5 in 1663; 1 to 15 in 1700; 1 to 15.27 in 1710; 1 to 15.15 in 1720; and 1 to 15.07 in 1740, after which there was a gradual diminution. The sum of £600,000 which we may roughly take as the Nâik revenue from crown lands was therefore equivalent to 60 lakhs of Rupees in 1560, 72 lakhs in 1605, 78 lakhs in 1610, 79.8 lakhs in 1619, 87 lakhs in 1663 and 90 lakhs in 1700 and after.

The Land Revenue assessment in the Empire and in Madura.

Passing on to details, the land revenue was, of course, as in every other kingdom of ancient or mediæval India, the mainstay of public exchequer. We cannot enter here into the vexed question whether the land was the property of the king or the people, whether the income from it to the State was in the nature of a rent or tax. It is sufficient for our purpose if we note that all land was either under the crown or under the Polygar or vassal king, and the people had to pay to their respective rulers—to the crown in case they were in crown land, to the Polygar in case they were in a Pālayam, to the Râja in case they were in a tributary kingdom—a certain percentage of the produce as revenue. And what percentage had they to pay? The theory from immemorial times was that the State was entitled to collect one-sixth of the produce from land. The Ryot was to give one-sixth of the crops or their money equivalent to the State, one-twentieth to Brahmans, and one-thirtieth to temple. One-fourth he retained as his share. The remaining half went to meet the expenses of agriculture, in which was included the maintenance of his family. To express the whole in concrete language after Wilks, we may suppose that the total production from land was 30. Of these 15 went for the expenses of agriculture. Out of the remaining 5 went to the State, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the Brahmans (*Brahmadâyam*), 1 to the Gods (*Dêvadâyam*) and $7\frac{1}{2}$ to the proprietor. "The share payable to the Brahmans and the Gods was received by the sovereign, and by him distributed; so that the sum actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor were equal."⁶⁸ This was the system prescribed by the law, as expounded by the great statesman and saint Vidyâranya in his *Parâsaramâdhaviyam*, and evidently in force throughout the Vijayanagar Empire in the beginning of the 14th century. The Emperor Harihara introduced certain changes in this system. He first abolished the option⁶⁹ of paying the government share in money or in kind, and enacted that in future it should be paid in money alone (at the rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ seers for the rupee). He was

⁶⁷ See Palgrave's *Dict. Pol. Ecy. III*. The ratio between gold and silver was almost the same in India. "The Pathan kings of Delhi coined both gold and silver in equal weights, both being as pure as they could make them; but relative values had dearly to be rejected as altered circumstances demanded. At first the scale appears to have been 1 to 8. In Akbar's time it was 1 to 9.4, in Aurangazeb's reign, 1 to 14. And at this rate of 1 to 14 our own E. I. Co., in 1766, coined gold as 149.72 fine to the Rupee containing 175.92 of pure silver." *Ante*. 1882, p. 318.

⁶⁸ Wilks' *Mysore*, I, p. 95; *S. Canara Manual*, 94-6; *Buchanan*, II, p. 287.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 126. Wilks points out that as rice was sold at the rate of 35 seers per rupee in his day, there was not much difference in prices between the 14th and early 19th centuries. The conversion of the grain payment to monetary payment was "pounded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase, and the value of grain." (p. 94).

further put to the necessity of increasing his finances by various means; for the numerous foreign wars of the day, the expensive character of court life and other circumstances necessitated a larger income to the State. Too orthodox and tactful, however, to incur the odium of popular displeasure by an open breach with the old customary proportion of one sixth, Harihara resorted to indirect and ingenious means for gaining the end he had in view. He had, in the language of Wilks, "recourse to the law of the Sasters,"⁷⁰ which authorised him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment."⁷¹ He thus introduced, says Wilks, a house-tax, a tax on straw, on the defective coins paid to the State, on transport of grain, on ploughs and ploughshares, on bullocks and sheep, on the alienation of grain, on plank⁷² doors (c. f. the Western window tax), etc. The result of all these was that, as Wilks says,⁷² there was an increase of 20 per cent in the land tax. "From 1336 until 1618, when the hereditary governors of the province (Mysore) began to aim at independence, this rate continued unaltered, but soon after this latter period an additional assessment of fifty per cent was levied on the whole revenue." It is difficult, owing to the paucity of materials, to say how far the Nâik rulers of Madura⁷³ followed the imperial system, and how much they collected from the people; but one of the Jesuit missionaries, Father Vico, writing in 1611, says that they levied "contributions which comprised at least the half of the produce of the lands." At least this was the case in the *pāṣayams*, and the same thing must have taken place in the territory ruled directly by the Governors. A number of Tamil inscriptions at Dēvikapuram⁷⁵ and elsewhere in North Arcot, discovered in 1913, give a long list of the obligations and taxes which a lessee or landlord of those days was subject to; and these, we can hardly doubt, prevailed in Madura. In return for the right (*ulavu-kāṇi* or *kāṇi-yākshī*) of growing any crops, wet or dry, including plantain, sugar-cane, turmeric, ginger, areca and cocoanut, he was bound, we are informed, to pay "the taxes in gold and in grain, such as *vāsalkaḍamai*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *tarikkaḍamai*, *ṣekkōṭṭu*, *eruttu-ṣammādam*, *māṭṭarikkam*, *talayārikkam*, *āṇuvakkāḍamai*, *paṭṭaḍainālāyam*, *iḍatturai*, *veṭṭivari*, *paḷavari*, and *puduvāri* (that may be enforced by the palace), *nallerudu* (good bull), *naṇpaṣu* (good cow), *nallerumai* (good buffalo), *narkidā* (good ewe), *Kāṇigai*, *virimuttu*, *eḍakkattāyam*, *viruttupādu*, *uḍugarai*, and *mugampārvai*. To this list the other cognate inscriptions add *palataṣi*, *kāṇikkai*, *ṣandai*, *ṣiminvilai*, *malai-amañji*, *mudil amañji*, *eḍuttaḷavu*, *viruttumādu*, *ṣāttukkaḍamai*, and *ṣirarai*." It should be acknowledged that the exact meaning of many of these is not known. Some of them are plainly non-agricultural in character, and have yet been included among the burdens of cultivation.

(To be continued.)

⁷⁰ Wilks I, p. 95 and 127.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁷² It is curious that Wilks mentions about a dozen taxes of non-agricultural character in this list and yet maintains that agriculturists were compelled to compound them for a higher tax. The fact is Wilks here is very confused and inconsistent. See *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

⁷³ The result was "he received one gheṭṭi pagoda for two kautics and a half of land, the same sum only having formerly been paid for three kautics." p. 95. *Bellary Gazr.*, p. 150.

⁷⁴ "Under the Nayakans the same proportion was apparently held in theory to be the revenue due to the State." (*Trichi. Gazr.* p. 210). i. e., 50 % of the gross produce. See also *Madu. Manual*, 149-50; Caldwell's *Tinnevely*; etc. "The established practice throughout this part of the peninsula," says Caldwell, "has for ages been to allow the farmer one-half of the produce of his crop for the maintenance of his family and the re-cultivation of the land, while the other is appropriated to the circar."

⁷⁵ See *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1913, p. 122. For the tax on sheep, cows, and buffaloes in the time of the Hoysalas, *Ibid.*, p. 129.

OUTLINES OF INDO-CHINESE HISTORY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Introductory Remarks.

THE following pages are reprinted here from a contribution by the present writer to Hutchinson's *History of the Nations* (1914-1916), pp. 1810-1830, with the kind permission of the publisher and editor, because it is believed that no general view of the history of Indo-China exists elsewhere, and that such a view will be useful to the readers of this *Journal*. The influence of Indian thought, religious and philosophical, has been so great on the nations further to the eastwards, and has existed for so long a time, that a general knowledge of them must always be of interest to the student of things Indian. It is to be regretted that it is not possible to include in this article a similar account of the Malays to the south of Indo-China, where Indian influence has been equally pervading for as long a period. Such an account has been prepared, but one hesitates to publish it, as though accurate knowledge on the subject is being steadily accumulated, it is not in such a condition yet as to make a general survey based on what has hitherto been acquired other than perchance misleading.

I.—THE INDO-CHINESE RACES.

THERE are at the present day three separate nations occupying the land commonly called Indo-China, or Further India (*L'extrême Orient*), either of which terms is fully applicable to the country. These nations are the Burmese, under British domination, on the west, the Siamese, who are independent, in the centre, and the Annamese, under French protection, on the east. The territories they occupy lie east of India and south of China. But closely connected with the Burmese are the Tibetans in the Himalayan regions across the whole northern border of India. For the present purpose, therefore, they are classed with the Indo-Chinese to the east of India, making a fourth nation in that category. In addition, right across the centre of Indo-China, west to east, are to be found yet another race—the Mons—now being submerged by the others; but until quite recently they controlled great independent historical kingdoms, under the differing national names of Taluings in Pegu (Burma), Khmers in Cambodia (Siam), and Chams in Champa (Southern Annam and Cochin-China).

The whole of these peoples have three salient characteristics in common. They are Chinese by descent and habit, but Indian (Hindu and Buddhist) by culture, and have all a striking civilization of great antiquity. Though, owing to geographical situation in a remote corner of South-eastern Asia, they were practically unknown to Europe until modern times, they have long occupied a place midway between Indian and Chinese civilizations; and as a meeting-point of ancient antagonistic religious and æsthetic ideals and of those mentalities which produce definite styles of art, architecture and literature, all in Indo-China old and extensive, they form the subject of instructive ethnological and historical studies of great interest. The Tibetans have for some centuries established a wide religious ascendancy over all the Mid-Asiatic populations, from Mongolia to Japan.

Looking back into the ages, one finds the true aborigines of the lands east of India to be Negritos, small black pigmies with woolly hair, of whom traces still abound in the population. To these succeeded tribes still primitive in nature but of a fairer (Caucasic) complexion, from the west or perhaps the south, who, in their turn, have been overwhelmed and assimilated by immigrants of a yellow Mongolian race from the highlands of

Western China, always moving southwards till they spread over the whole land. The effects of all these waves of population are to this day visible in the people in places everywhere. But for practical purposes the great variety of local tribes that have emerged from the medley of ages of immigration and internecine struggle may be separated into four main groups: the Tibeto-Burman race of Tibet and Burma; the Siamese-Shan race (Thais, Laos, Karens); the Mon race of Southern Burma (Talaings), Cambodia (Khmers), and Cochín-China (Chams); and the Annamese of Annam and Tong-king (Giāos, Giao-chi).

Until the masterful intervention of the English in Burmese affairs (1824), and of the French in those of Annam (1787), these peoples have struggled for supremacy over the Mons and each other through all time without reference politically to any part of the world other than China; and the main facts to bear in mind about them are that they are of Mongolian stock, and that their mental attitude is Far-Eastern and Chinese, and not Indian nor Mid-Asiatic. At the same time, their civilization has been strongly tinged for a very long period with Hinduism and Buddhism from India. Their future will be closely bound up with Western civilization, and in this view the present situation of Siam is of particular interest. Hedged in between two powerful Empires, the English to the west and the French to the east, independent only by virtue of their joint guarantees, and led by an energetic and enlightened ruling family, she bids fair to be the Belgium of Eastern Asia as to agriculture, industrial enterprise, commerce and wealth.

II.—THE TIBETANS.

It is not usual to class the Tibetans with the nations of Indo-China, but their relationship to them is so close, and their general historical and ethnical situation so similar, that it will be convenient to do so here. None the less so, because, as in the case of the Indo-Chinese peoples proper, so much of their civilization as has not been borrowed from India has come from China. The name Tibet is a corruption of the native term Tō-bhōt (Stod-bod), or High Bod, for the uplands of the loftiest country in the world, through which travellers found their way into it.

Into this land of Bod, predestined by its configuration to isolation from the rest of the world—unless, indeed, improved communications will some day induce a large alien population to develop its almost universal distribution of gold—there wandered eastwards from their home in Western China the earliest of the same description of Mongolian emigrants as those who, in successive swarms, found their way into the lands east of India, i.e., into Indo-China proper. Eventually, with an inevitable admixture from surrounding lands, they formed the strong, hardy, light-brown, but popularly red, race of the Bhō-pā (Bod-pa), or Tibetan people. The language which they have gradually developed belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group, and was reduced to writing by Thonmi Sambhotā in the seventh century A.D., who, with the aid of Buddhist monks, introduced a variety of the Indian script of the period.

To Europeans Tibet, as a mysterious land, unapproachable except by the most intrepid or religiously inclined, has for centuries been the natural goal of explorers and missionaries, including many famous names, onwards from the days of the Frenchman, Guillaume Bouchier, in search of gold in 1253.

The Tibetans are known historically in the Chinese annals from the eleventh century B.C., as Kiang, or "Shepherds," with whom, nevertheless, the Chinese had but a superficial acquaintance, while their own legendary history commences in the late sixth century B.C., with a king, Gnya-Khri-Btsanpo, who is directly connected with India

as the fifth son of Prasénajit of Kōsala, or Oudh (B.C. c. 530-500). The first personage, however, to come out of legendary obscurity is Fanni Tubat, of the Southern Liang dynasty of China (A.D. 397-415), who fled before the Northern Liangs in 433, and founded an extensive kingdom among the Kiang tribes. In the days of his successor, Gnyan-tsan, the Tibetans first came into contact with the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, and under a great descendant, Srong-tsan Gampo (Srongtsampo, 600-663), conqueror of Nepal and all the Indian Himālayas, who was able to make matrimonial alliances with royal and imperial houses in India and China, Tibet became an important Oriental state. He founded Lhāsa (Lha-ldan) in 639, and with his active encouragement Buddhism and its writings and literature were introduced into the country. At this period Tibetan rule must have spread widely, northwards into Asia and southwards far into Bengal, as is shown by the Chinese annals and other evidence, though Indian records are silent on the subject. Srong-tsan Gampo was followed by some vigorous successors, dangerous to China, of whom Khri-srong Lde-tsan (743-789) has become famous in the Tibetan Buddhist chronicles as the most strenuous of all the royal supporters of the faith. His son, Mani-tampo, tried, with great persistence, but, nevertheless, with complete want of success, an interesting general socialistic experiment in an endeavour to equalize the relative position, socially and economically, of all classes of his subjects. In the days of another descendant, Ralpachen (808-845), who was an ardent Buddhist and warrior, still existing bilingual tablets were set up at Lhāsa in 821 to celebrate a peace with China. He was assassinated and succeeded by Langdharma, the black sheep of the monkish chronicles, a violent opponent and persecutor of Buddhism, who, in his turn, was soon put out of the way in 850, when the country was divided into the Western and Eastern Kingdoms by his two sons. This gave rise to much internecine struggle and intricate history, the Eastern Kingdom getting the worst of it. The Western dynasty, however, split up into several petty local chiefships, out of which emerge the lines of Khorrē of Shantung and Thich'ung of Ü (Central Tibet). A member of the former dynasty invited Atisa, the great Indian Buddhist teacher, to rule the important monastery of Thoding in Nāri (Western Tibet), and the latter largely patronized his successors in office. Atisa was the first of the chief priests, who were subsequently to establish that paramount sacerdotal authority throughout the country, for which it has since become world-famous. In 1246-48 Śākya Pandita, a celebrated successor of Atisa, paid a visit by request to the Court of Kāyuk, the successor of the Mongol conqueror, Ogdai Khān.

In 1243 Kublai Khān conquered Eastern Tibet, and in his capacity of Mongol Emperor of China, invited Śākya Pandita's nephew and successor, Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltsan, to the Court, became a convert to Tibetan Buddhism, and later on invested him, as suzerain, with the sovereignty over the whole Tibetan territory—in return for his services. From that time onwards, for seventy years, the Śākya Lāmas ruled in Tibet (1270-1340) through appointed agents, from the Śākya monastery, until rival priests undermined their influence and enabled Phāgmōdu (Chyang Chub Gyaltsan) to set up, with the approval of the Court of Peking, a prosperous lay kingdom, which ended, however, in civil strife, and gave an opportunity to the Mongols to again intervene in Tibetan affairs.

In 1447 the Buddhist Abbot Gedundub (1447-1475) founded the important Tashilhunpo monastery, and his third successor, Sodnam Rgyamtso, was elected to the still more important position of head of the Guldan monastery near Lhāsa. With the help of the Mongol

Khâns and the acquiescence of the Ming dynasty of China, he was proclaimed Vajra Dalai Lâma in 1576, and was thus the first to use a title afterwards to become of great renown. At the same time the Mongols interfered actively in the civil government. Later on, they were paid to withdraw, and the first Manchu Emperor (1644-1661) was applied to for help. This caused the Mongols to return, subjugate the whole country, and in 1645 to make the fifth Dalai Lâma monarch of all Tibet, in which position he was confirmed by the Chinese Government in 1653. In 1706 and 1717 there was further interference by the Mongol Khâns in the affairs of Tibet, but the Chinese finally conquered the country in 1720 and established the present temporal power of the Dalai Lâmas under the supervision of Chinese *ambans* (residents), with its sacerdotally-inspired isolation from the outer world, which possibly has been encouraged by the Chinese with the idea of creating a buffer State between themselves and European aggression from India and Central Asia.

After 1872 there was some rivalry between the British and Russian governments as to relations, chiefly commercial, with Tibet, in which the Dalai Lâma played a part unsatisfactory to the former, leading eventually in 1904 to the occupation of Lhâsa by a British force, the flight of the Dalai Lâma, and a commercial treaty. This was followed by an Anglo-Russian Convention in 1907, recognizing the Chinese suzerainty and maintaining the isolation of the country. The Dalai Lâma was restored in 1908, but was soon in trouble with the Chinese, and was deposed in 1910; but he returned in 1912, when the British Government secured the territorial and administrative integrity of the native rulers.

Tibet is necessarily, in the political conditions above indicated, the most priest-ridden country in the world, and not only that, the influence of its priesthood is spread far beyond its northern and eastern borders. No account, therefore, of the country can pass over its religious organization. Fundamentally, for all his Buddhism and the wide ascendancy of his sacerdotal hierarchy over a large part of Asia, the Tibetan has never departed from the primitive Animism, which his remote ancestors brought with them from the Western Chinese highlands. It has saturated even the highly debased and animistic form of Buddhism he received in the seventh century from Northern India, until nowadays his religion may be said to have largely reverted back to that original dread of spirits which is the basis of all Animism.

Curiously enough, Srongtsan Gampo began the introduction of North Indian Buddhism in 622, the year of the traditional rise of Islâm, with the help of his minister, Thonmi Sambhotâ, and of his queens, now all regarded as divine incarnations, a doctrine borrowed from the Vaishnava Hindus by Northern Buddhism before it was adopted by the Tibetans. Later on his descendant, Khri-srong Ldetsan (743-789), actively encouraged it, and had the enormous collection of the *Kanjur* scriptures compiled. The arrival of Atisa in 1206 greatly raised the position of the monastic priesthood, and then for two hundred years civil strife weakened the power of the king and his barons, while the power of the abbots steadily increased. So that when Kublai Khân (1216-1294), on his conversion, set up in 1270 the Sâkyapa Lâma abbot as civil and ecclesiastical monarch of the whole country, the times were ripe for the temporal sovereignty of the Lâmas of Tibet—for that Lâmâism which is of such interest to Europeans, owing to the instructive parallel its history presents to that of the Church of Rome and the temporal power of the Popes. In 1390 arose the reformer, Tsongkapa (1357-1419), with a strong attempt at a return to original simplicity and purity of religion. His preaching had a considerable effect, still to be seen in the ceremonials and yellow robes of his

followers, who are now in the ascendant over the red-robed adherents of the previous priesthood. In 1576 the Chinese Emperor recognized the two great contemporary abbots of the yellow-robe, the Dalai Lâma of Gedundubpa near Lhâsa, and the Tashi Lâma (Pantschen) of Tashilhunpo, as sovereigns of Tibet, the Dalai Lâma being from the first the real political chief. These great abbots are, of course, incarnations of divinities, and on the death of either, the successor, who must be a newly-born infant, is chosen under certain rules by the Chatuktus, heads of monasteries, occupying much the position of Roman cardinals. It will be perceived that this practice means that the government of Tibet is in the hands of a perpetual ecclesiastical camarilla, with all its attendant evils. The Dalai Lama's political authority extends only to Tibet, but he is the acknowledged head of the Buddhist Church throughout Mongolia and China, but not in Japan.

III.—THE BURMESE.

THE people of Indo-China most nearly related to the Tibetans are the Burmese, Burma and Burmese being English corruptions of *Bamâ* (spelt *Mrammâ*), the native term for tribes, which the Chinese called Min. For ages they disputed the mastery of the country they now occupy, the basins and deltas of the Irrawaddy, Sittang and Salween rivers, with the Shans, of whom the Siamese form part, the Maghs or Arakanese, who are Burmese with an admixture of Bengali blood, and the Talaings of Pegu, related to the Khmers and Mons of Cambodia and Annam, further eastwards. They at last took complete possession of it in 1757, shortly before the advent of the British. As in the case of the Tibetans, their civilization is Indian, with strong influences from China.

All the peoples of Burma have old traditional histories and chronicles, which profess to go very far back. But, so far as actual chronology can be trusted, there was a Shan (*Ailao*, afterwards *Nanchao* and *Pong*) kingdom with Chinese tendencies in Yunnan, Upper Burma, and the modern Shan States in A.D. 90-230, with an overflow westwards into Assam. The chronicles of Burma themselves all point to the formation of an Indian Hindu settlement at *Tagaung* on the Irrawaddy in Upper Burma, which spread itself southwards as far as *Prome* and *Arakan*, and of another at *Thatôn* in Lower Burma. The kingdoms the settlers set up can be taken as starting at some period B.C. with an animistic religion, known in Burma as *nat* (spirit) worship, and nowadays often also referred to as *nagâ* (serpent) worship. This became overshadowed in the fifth century A.D. by Buddhism of both the northern and southern branches, which fought for supremacy for centuries until the southern (*Hinayâna*) completely ousted the other (*Mahâyâna*) in the fifteenth century.

Genuine history commences with the foundation of the Burmese era dating from 638 A.D., at *Pagân*, in Upper Burma, by *Thêngâ* (*Singha*) *Râja*, a usurper and perhaps a Cambodian prince of the time of the great *Kambûja* King *Isanavarman I.* (610-650). According to the Chinese annals, *Pagân*, though overshadowed by Pegu, became a fine civilized city as early as the ninth century A.D. In 1010 a Burmese hero king and religious reformer, *Anawratâ* (*Anuruddha*, 1010-1052), ascended the throne of *Pagân*, broke the power of the Shans, invaded *Arakan*, and destroyed the *Talaing* capital *Thatôn*, thus bringing the whole country under his sway. The *Talaings*, however, had their revenge in controlling the Buddhism (*Hinayâna*) of the *Burmans* (1057), and in teaching them all the sacred architecture (*pagodas*) they know. *Anawratâ's* successors were great builders, as the immense ruins of *Pagân* show to the present day, and some of them were purists in religion, *Narabadisithû* (1167-1204) sending an expedition in 1170-1181

to Ceylon and establishing Southern Buddhism for a while. They continued to embellish their capital until Kublai Khān (1260-1294) fell on them in 1286, bringing about in 1298 the collapse of the empire that Anawratā had founded.

The Talaings naturally now became independent under Wareru of Martaban, a Shan chief (1287-1306), and set up a kingdom at Pegu that lasted until 1540. Other Shans began to rule Burmese States on the Irrawaddy at Pinya (1298-1364) and Sagaing (1315-1364), until a more celebrated capital was founded by yet another Shan at Ava (1364-1554). So that from the thirteenth century to the days of Elizabeth of England Burma was under Shan rulers.

All through this period there was perpetual fighting, both internal and external. Shans, Burmans, Siamese, Arakanese and Bengalis all joining in it. Out of the medley arose a local Burman-Shan kingdom at Taungū (1470-1530), which gave birth to another great hero of the past, Tabin Shwēdi (1530-1548). With the aid of his general, a still greater historical name, Bayin Naung, known to the Portuguese, established in Martaban under Antonio Correa in 1519, as Branginoco (for Burangnongchau = Bayin Naungzaw), Tabin Shwēdi started to capture Pegu and Martaban. After several attempts he succeeded in doing so in 1540. His operations are remarkable for the defence of Pegu by Indian Muhammadans and a Portuguese naval commander, Ferdinando de Mortales, the first of many Europeans to take part in Burmese local wars. Tabin Shwēdi now became King of Pegu and in 1542 took Prome, Portuguese gunners under Diego Soares assisting his army. In 1548 he was assassinated and Bayin Naung (1548-1581) succeeded him after a struggle. In 1555 Bayin Naung captured Ava and became ruler of all Burma for the Talaings in 1558. He then attacked Siam, and in 1564 entered Ayuthia, carrying away as captives the King and his family. But in 1569, when the famous Venetian traveller, Cesar Frederick, was in Pegu, he had to retake Ayuthia, and finally he died in 1581 during an expedition to Aracan. And then, after all this effort, the great kingdom he had erected suddenly collapsed in 1599 through the incapacity of his son, Nandā Bayin (1581-1599). Bayin Naung was a remarkable personality, a mighty builder, and extraordinarily energetic in all he undertook: war, religion, civil administration, architecture, trade. Amongst other things he created a navy, and secured a "holy tooth" of Buddha from Colombo in 1576. He made Pegu into a splendid city of great wealth, and even after his death Ralph Fitch, the first English traveller in Burma, testified to its magnificence in 1586. One outcome of this period of lasting effect on the country was the deliberate re-introduction, in its purest form, in 1476, of Southern (Hinayāna) Buddhism from Colombo in Ceylon by a Talaing monk turned king, Dhammachēti (Rāmadhipati) of Pegu (1458-1489.)

On the collapse of Bayin Naung's empire there followed the usual Oriental chaos, which gave a Portuguese adventurer, Philip the Brito, the opportunity of rising in three years (1600-1602) from cabin-boy and palace menial to the governorship of Syriam, near Rangoon, for the Arakanese, and finally to the throne of Pegu itself, with the daughter of the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa for wife. But he was an aggressive, headstrong man, with no idea of ingratiating himself with his people and neighbours, and by 1613 he was ousted by Mahādhammarāja (1605-1628), a grandson of Bayin Naung, established in Ava; and was impaled alive, while his unfortunate queen was sent as a slave to Ava. Help from Goa arrived just too late.

Mahādhammarāja now created an extensive Burmese kingdom, and was active in suppressing the Portuguese pirates along the coasts, as by this time they had become a

general scourge in the Bay of Bengal. Of these, a great ruffian named Sebastian Gonzales was a successful specimen as the temporary ruler of Chittagong (1612-1619) in Bengal. Mahādhammarāja's dynasty hung on till 1740, when it was in its turn ousted by Binyā Dalā of Pegu (1746-1757), a Shan, who burned Ava in 1752 and placed Burma once more under the rule of Pegu for the Talaings.

Then arose a great Burmese warrior of the official class at Shwebo, with the title of Alaungphayā, turned by Europeans into Alompra (1712-1760), who founded the dynasty (1753-1885) which the English found ruling on their appearance on the scene as conquerors. In 1753 he took Ava from the Talaings; in 1755 he seized Prome and founded the now great port of Rangoon by the shrine of the Shwēdagôn Pagoda, a famous place of pilgrimage throughout the Far East. In 1757 he was in Pegu, when the Talaing government was definitely overthrown.

All these proceedings brought Alompra into contact with the French at Syriam and the more important British settlements in Burma, which had been established in Negrais Island in 1709, and also at Bassein and Syriam. Finally, Alompra died in 1760 during an expedition to Siam, which took him to the gates of Ayuthia, at the age of forty-eight, and only eight years after his first appearance on the public stage. He founded a notable dynasty, and caused the Talaings, in a fashion not uncommon in the Far East, largely to disappear as a separate race. His successors reigned variously at Sagaing, Ava, Amarapura (Amāyapūya) and Mandalay, with that frequent change of capital characteristic of the Far East, and so disconcerting to the stranger. Wherever they went they built lavishly, and in some respects with a truly beautiful architectural sense in their own style.

Of this dynasty, Sinbyūshin (1763-1776) again attacked Ayuthia, and had much trouble with the Chinese (1765-1769). Later on, Bôdawphayā (1781-1819), a powerful king, overran Arakan and was a thorn in the side of the British Indian government in the difficult days of the early nineteenth century. Later on still, under Bāgyidaw (1819-1837), there was a violent collision with the British, brought about by the conceit and arrogance habitual to Burmese rulers through all time, resulting in the First Burmese War (1824-1826) and the loss of the Arakan and Tenasserim provinces. Bāgyidaw felt the disgrace keenly, and subsequently became insane.

Not long afterwards a successor, Pagān Min (1846-1852), was in trouble with English traders at Rangoon, and there occurred the Second Burmese War (1852), which added the Pegu province to the British Empire. He was succeeded by a really capable ruler, Mindōn Min (1853-1878), who governed his country well and in peace with his neighbours for twenty-five years, when he was succeeded by a thoroughly incompetent hen-pecked son, Thibaw (1878-1885), whose wilful but unwise Queen, Sūphayālāt, brought about the Third Burmese War, and the final annexation of all Burma to the British Empire in 1886. Since then the history of the country has been one of steady material improvement under British rule.

IV—THE SIAMESE.

HISTORICALLY, Siam is the habitation of the Shans in the basins and deltas of the Menam and Mekong rivers, and includes Cambodia and Cochin-China. It is the central country of Indo-China, with Burma on the west and Annam on the east. The Shans, the Siamese and the Laos to the eastwards all call themselves Thai, though the modern Siamese are partly fused with the ancient Khmers of Cambodia, whose own tradition is that they are Mons from Pegu. Siam is an English form of an old name, Sayām, for the

country adopted by the Malays, through whom it came to the Europeans. This, in its turn, is identical with Shan. French Indo-China now includes Cambodia, Cochin-China and the country of the Laos east of the Mekong, all taken from the Siamese in quite recent times.

Definite history in this land begins with Cambodia (Kambûja; French, *Cambodge*), the deltaic country dominated by the great lake of Tonlêsap, in exactly the same way as in Tibet and Burma. From the twelfth century B.C. Cambodia was known to the Chinese chroniclers as Funan, and much later on, in the seventh century A.D., as Chinla, and was long tributary to China. But several centuries B.C. Indian emigrants found their way into it, just as they did into Burma, Arakan and Pegu. They Hinduized the people, getting a firm hold of them as early as the fourth century B.C. In the fifth century A.D. Kaundinya (Kondanno), a Hindu, founded among the Khmers of Cambodia a famous dynasty, bearing the distinctive title of Varman. As the Kambûja King Srutavarman (435-495), he brought the Khmer State into prominence; but by 705 internal troubles split the country into two mutually independent portions. In the ninth century Jayavarman III. (802-869) united the kingdom and started the splendid Brahmanical monuments that still remain, Yasovarman (889-910) completing the magnificent capital at Angkor Thom in 900. This was the commencement of the greatest era of architecture (Brahmanical) known in the Far East, which culminated in the splendid structure of Angkor Wat by the Brahman architect, Divâkara (c. 1090-1140). In the same century Jayavarman VIII (1162-1201), the last of the great Kambûja kings, conquered the rival Indian dynasty of Châmpâ in Annam and Cochin-China. But this war and others, with his neighbours, east and west, the Annamese the and Siamese Shans, now growing strong, exhausted the country. The Siamese became aggressive in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Angkor was destroyed in 1385, Cambodia ceasing to be of general importance, and in time becoming a vassal State, though it still boasts a "royal" dynasty.

Northern Buddhism came into Siam as early as 250 B.C. and Southern Buddhism was introduced in the fifth century A.D., traditionally in 422 by Buddhaghosha (c. 390-450). By the tenth century it had become a powerful rival to Hinduism, to which it succeeded as the general national religion, much as in Burma, on the extinction of the Cambodian power, the Khmers, like the Talaings, of Burma, largely becoming absorbed by their conquerors.

In 1280, Kublai Khân, the great ruler of China (1260-1294), drove the Shans out of Southern China, and thereby weakened the Lao-Shan States. This gave an opportunity in 1284 to a Siamese Shan chief, Râma Kâmheng, to turn his people into the ruling race of the country. In 1350 another Siamese Shan chieftain, Châo Uthong, set up a kingdom with Ayuthia (Sia Yuthia) on the Menam as his capital, and became by his conquests Phrâ Râmathibadi, the first Siamese king of all Siam (1350-1369). His grandson, Phrâ Râmasuên II. (1382-1385), was attacked by the Cambodians in 1384. But in revenge he took Angkor Thom from them in 1385, and this was the cause of the ultimate removal of the Cambodian capital to Pnompenh on the Mekong, where it now is. Then followed centuries of war with varying success with Pegu, Burma and Cambodia, during which arose a great national hero and conqueror, Phrâ Narêt (Narêsva, 1558-1593), who for a while made his country a formidable power in Central Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula.

The seventeenth century was remarkable for Western intercourse with Siam, though the great Portuguese Viceroy, D'Albuquerque, by establishing himself in Malacca in

1511, was the first important European to come in contact with the Siamese. The first English ship on the Menam appeared in 1612, the first Portuguese mission was settled in 1620, and the French arrived with an embassy in 1685, the record of whose voyage gives the first approximately correct geographical description of these regions. In 1657 there reached Siam Constantine Phaulcon, a Cephalonian Greek adventurer, who rose to high position under Phrá Naráyn (1656-1688), with the title of Cháophayá Vijayéndra. His policy was to foster commerce with Europe, and he thus received the Ambassadors of Louis XIV, in 1685, with a view to a French trade; and erected a fort at Bangkok with the same object, but he was murdered in 1687 by the Siamese nobles from jealousy on the death of his patron. At the same time (1688) the English lost their trade with Siam through sheer mismanagement.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Burmans once more sacked Ayuthia and destroyed the Siamese kingdom that Cháo Uthong had founded in 1350. Ayuthia, under these kings, was a wealthy city, adorned with many buildings of great size and merit in the Indo-Chinese style of architecture. On the fall of Ayuthia a capable general of mixed Chinese-Siamese parentage, Cháophayá Taksin (Ták, 1767-1782), took the army in hand, set himself up at Bangkok, and drove out the Burmans in 1771. But he became insane and was put to death in 1782, when another successful general, a Chinese noble named Cháophayá phayá Chakrí (1782-1809), established the present reigning dynasty, which has made Bangkok into a fine architectural capital. He has come down to posterity as Phrá Budhyot Fa (Yod Fa), and has had a remarkable series of successors, of whom the best known is Phrá Paraméndra Mahāmongkut (1851-1868), an enlightened man of science, who initiated many reforms. He was succeeded by Phrá Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), an administrator of the highest capacity, and there were hopes then that Siam, the middle territory of the Far East, and destined by geographical position to be the natural home of war, had at last under such a ruler a chance of peaceful internal development. Trouble, however, did not cease until the boundaries between the British Empire on the west and the French Empire on the east were settled finally in 1908, and Siam, though restricted in territory, came at a long last to be in a fair way of permanent peace under the guarantee of strong powers on either side, and to be able to develop a great commerce as an independent kingdom, under yet another capable ruler, Phrá Mongkut Kláo, whose brilliant coronation in 1911 collected together the largest number of European princes ever seen in the East.

V.—THE ANNAMESE.

ALL along the coast there runs a long stretch of territory, now in the hands of the French, and divided by them into Tongking on the north, Annam and Cochin-China on the south, with their respective capitals at Hanói, Hâe and Saigon. Cochin-China (Chinese, Cheng Chin and Ko Cheng Chin) is a name which has frequently changed its significance. It has meant the whole coast, and has been restricted to modern Cochin-China and Annam, and, lastly, to the area in the south now so called. This land of the farthest eastern seaboard is inhabited by many tribes, which may be generically divided into two categories: the Chams of Mon relationship in the south, and the Annamese or Giãos, known historically to the Chinese as Giaochi, and popularly as Juâka or Yuôngs, and to the Annamese as Nguyêns or Ngwins. Its history up to 1470 is one long confused fight between Giãos and Chams, and is difficult, being dependent on Chinese annals, Cham inscriptions and Annamese chronicles, which are not to be readily reconciled.

The most interesting fact is that for many centuries (B.C. c. 150—A.D. 470) the Chams were ruled by Hindu dynasties under the name of Kings of Châmpâ. Buddhism came in chiefly from China, and is now of the degraded Tibetan type; but there are signs that the purer Southern Buddhism was once in the ascendant. Islâm was introduced generally about A.D. 1300, and a large number of the Chams are Muhammadans. As in Burma and elsewhere in Indo-China, primitive Animism has never died out. The Annamese Giàos have always been true to their Chinese origin.

History may be said to commence in the last days of the Tsin dynasty of China (B.C. 249-206), when the first universal conqueror, Shi Hwangti, became suzerain of the Giaochi country (Tongking and Annam), which then and for long afterwards had to struggle with its powerful Shan neighbours on the west. In the troubled days of the "Three Kingdoms" of China and their followers (A.D. 222-590), Tongking for a time was part of the Wu kingdom, and was ruled from Nanking, Chinese suzerainty in various forms lasting on till 1801 (after 1428 nominally). By the fifth century it must have been weak owing to continued troubles in China itself, and this gave an opportunity for the now growing Hindu power of Châmpâ in the south to upset the Giào governors, and we hear of attacks, with counter-attacks, in 399 and 431, from the people of Lamap, as the Chinese then called Châmpâ.

In the second century B.C. a Hindu prince, Paramêsvara, appears as the founder of the kingdom of Châmpâ, and in the third century A.D., Murârâja (Uroja) has a capital at Pânduranga (Panrang in Binh Thuan), and in the fifth century inscriptions tell us that Bhadravarman Dharmamahârâja is embellishing the temple at Po Nagar on the Nha Trang in Khanh Hwa (Hoa). So that at the time of their attacks on the Giàos, the Chams were established as a civilized Hindu State. In 602-605 the Chinese of the Suy dynasty (580-617) inflicted heavy defeats on the Chams at their capital of Sri Bânvi (Banocuy), at Dong Hwi (Hosuy) in Kweng Binh, and from this time the struggle of centuries between north and south may be said to have commenced in Annam, a name which as An-Nam (Ngan-Nan) is first heard of in 756. By 808 the Chinese chroniclers had learnt to write the native name Châmpâ as Chimba.

Wars between the Chinese viceroys over the Giàos and the Cham kings went on till the Annamese rebelled in 931, and in 968 Dinh Bo Sangh (968-975) founded the first Annamese dynasty under the suzerainty of China. Châmpâ fell on evil times at this period, as the Cambodians raided the country in 918, in the days of Indravarman II, and all through the tenth and eleventh centuries the Annamese kings got much the best of it in the fighting; but its fortunes looked up again in the early days of the Srijâya dynasty (1139-1470), until in 1190 it fell to the Cambodians, who held it as suzerains for thirty-four years.

In 1286 the great conqueror, Kublai Khân, appeared on the scene, but both the Annamese and the Chams put up a good fight, and were only four years (1286-1290) under subjection. Shortly before this attack Marco Polo (1280) was in "Cyamba," and again after it in 1292. In 1306, however, Châmpâ became the vassal of Annam, and, as such, was defended in 1313 against Cambodia. But in 1353 there arose a national hero in the person of a Cham prince, now known only by his Annamese name, Che Bong Nga, who by sheer capacity and boldness constantly defeated the Annamese till his death in 1392, on which there ensued a period of anarchy in Châmpâ.

Soon after this, in 1412, there arose another national hero, this time Annamese, in Le Loi (1412-1434), who conducted a war of liberation (1412-1428) against Yung Lo

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATE.	CHIEF EVENTS.
ANCIENT HISTORY.		
	B.C.	
	1109-1050	Chinese in Cambodia (1109): in contact with Tibet (c. 1050).
	850-483	Hindus in Burma (c. 850): in Arakan (c. 825): in Pegu (Talaing, c. 543): in Preme (c. 483).
	500	Tibetan connection with India commences (c. 500).
	362-A.D. 146	Buddhism in Burma (362): in Arakan (A.D. 146).
	B.C. 235	Chinese in Annam and Tongking.
	150-A.D. 60	Hindus in Champa (c. 150): in Siamese Shan States (95): in Cambodia (A.D. c. 60).
	90-A.D. 230	Chinese Shan kingdom in Burma and Yunnan (Ailao, afterwards Nanchao, Pong).
	A.D. 108-573	Foundation of ancient cities. In Burma: Pagan (108), Pegu (573). In Siam: Lopburi (493), Lampung (Lahong, 527). In Champa, Panduranga (c. 250).
	422-944	Buddhism: Southern in Siam and Pegu (422); in Cambodia (944). Northern in Tibet (622): in Champa (829).
	435	Hindu State of Kambôja (Cambodia) founded. Tibetan dated history commences.
MEDIEVAL HISTORY.		
	620	Tibetan Empire (620-850).
	638-639	Burmese and Siamese eras commence (638). Foundation of Lhasa (639).
	802-1090	Colossal buildings in Cambodia. 889, Angkor Thom. 1090, Angkor Wat.
	968	First native Annamese Dynasty.
	1010-1298	Burmese Empire.
	1026	First ruling Buddhist priest in Tibet (Atisa).
	1243-1286	Kublai Khan's raids. 1243, Tibet. 1280, Cambodia and Siam. 1256, Burma, Champa and Annam.
	1248-1350	Siamese-Shan rule in Siam. 1350, Foundation of Ayuthia.
	1263	Kublai Khan's conversion to Buddhism by Sakya Pandita, made first priestly sovereign of Tibet.
	1287-1544	Talaing Dynasty of Pegu (1287-1540). Shan Dynasties of Burma (1298-1544).
	1385-1470	Destruction of Cambodian (Khmer) power (1385): of Champa (Chams, 1470).
MODERN HISTORY.		
	1412-1428	Annamese war of liberation from China.
	1447-1576	Rise of the great Lamas of Tibet. 1447, Tashi Lama. 1576, Dalai Lama.
	1519-1613	Portuguese in Pegu (1519). 1600-1613, Philip de Brito, King of Pegu.
	1544-1599	Talaing Empire in Burma (Pegu).
	1612-1685	European intercourse with Siam. 1612, English. 1620, Portuguese. 1685, French.
	1645	Dalai Lama, ruler of Tibet: head of Northern Buddhism (Lamaism) in Asia.
	1709	English and French settlements in Burma.
	1753-1885	Alompra Dynasty in Burma. 1755, Foundation of Rangoon. 1757, Destruction of the Talaings.
	1771-1782	Foundation of Bangkok (1771). 1782, Present Siamese Dynasty.
	1787	French in Annam: treaty with Nguyen Gia-long (1773-1820), first King of all Annam.
	1824-1885	British wars with Burma. 1824-1826, First. 1852, Second. 1885-1889, Third. 1886, Annexation.
	1863-1891	French suzerainty in Annam. Wars: Tongking (1873-1885); Black Flag (1885-1891).
	1893-1904	Settlement of present Siamese boundaries.

DATES OF TIBETAN HISTORY

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATES.	CHIEF EVENTS.
TIBETAN TRADITION: PERIOD OF THE KIANG (SHEPHERD TRIBES): B.C. 1050-A.D. 433.	B.C. c. 1050 c. 500	Occupation of Tibet by Mongolian tribes from the highlands of Western China. KIANG or Shepherd tribes under chiefs in contact with the Chinese. GYA-KHRI BTSAKPO, connected by legend with Prasanañjit of Kosala (Oudh, c. 530-500), the first of a long line of legendary Shepherd Kings.
DATED HISTORY: KINGS OF THE KIANG (433-620).	A.D. 433	FANXI TUBAT, of the Southern Liang Dynasty of China (397-419), founds a kingdom among the Kiang Tribes. GYAN-TSAN. First contact with the Northern Buddhism of Nepal.
TIBETAN EMPIRE: (620-850).	620	SRONG-TSAN GAMPO (609-663) founds the Tibetan Empire. Conquers all the Himalayas as far as Badakhshan, Nepal, and a large part of Bengal.
	622	Introduces Buddhism in the year that Muhammad founds Islam (<i>Hijra</i>).
	639	Founds Lhasa (Lha-klan).
	743-780	KHRI-SHONG LDE-TSAN. Great extension of the Buddhist faith. Compiles the Kanjur Scriptures.
	808-845	RALPACHEN. Wars with the Tang Dynasty of China. 821, Bilingual tablets at Lhasa to celebrate peace.
	845-850	LANGDHARMA. Persecution of the Buddhist. Break-up of the Empire into the Western and Eastern Kingdoms.
WEST AND EAST KINGDOMS: (850-1243).	850	Western Kingdom dominant, but breaks up into petty chiefships, of which KHORRÉ OF SHANTUNG and THICH'UNG of U become prominent.
	1026	KHORRÉ chief invites ATISA from India to rule the monastery of Thoding in Nari. He becomes first ruling priest in Tibet. Thich'ung chiefs support his successors in office. Rise of Lamaism.
CHINESE SUZERAINTY (from 1243): DIRECT CHINESE RULE (1243-1279).	1243 1246-1248	KUBLAI KHAN (1216-1294) conquers Tibet. SAKYA PANDITA, a successor of Atisa, visits Kayuk (1241-1248), successor of Ogda Khan. Founds line of Sakya Lamas.
	1253 1265	Gillaume Bouchier (French): first European visitor to Tibet. PHAGPA LODOI GYALTSHAN, nephew of Sakya Pandita, converts Kublai Khan to Tibetan Buddhism after his accession to the Chinese Empire (1259) and is rewarded by the sovereignty of Tibet.
RULE OF THE SAKYAPA LAMAS: (1270-1340).	1270 1328	Sakya Lama rule commences. Prior Odoric claims to have visited Tibet.
LINE OF PHAGMODU (LAY KINGS) (1340-1576).	1340 1390 1447	PHAGMODU (CHYANG CHUB GYALTSHAN) establishes a lay kingdom. THONGKAPA, reformer (1357-1419), introduces the yellow robe in supersession of the red robe. GEDUNDUB (1447-1475) founds Tashilhunpo Monastery and becomes TASHI (PANTSCHEN) LAMA. Priestly influence waxes and lay influence wanes.
	1576	SOPHAM ROYAMTSO of the Geluan monastery near Lhasa proclaimed VAJRA DALAI LAMA under the Ming Dynasty of China (Wan Li, 1573-1620). First to use the title. Rise of the Asiatic influence of the Dalai Lamas.
	1576-1645 1623	Mongol interference in the government. Civil troubles. Antonio d'Andrada and the Jesuits in Tibet.
RULE OF THE DALAI LAMAS (from 1645).	1645 1653 1706-1717 1715-1733 1720 1774 1863 1872 1879 1904 1910	The Mongols make the FIFTH DALAI LAMA ruler of all Tibet. The first Manchu Emperor of China (Shun Chi, 1644-1661) confirms them. The Mongols again interfere in the affairs of Tibet. Capuchin and Jesuit missions at Lhasa. The Chinese finally conquer Tibet (K'ang Hsi, Emperor, 1661-1721). Warren Hastings sends George Bogle on first English mission. 1811, Thomas Manning, first Englishman in Lhasa. 1844, Abbé Huc's journey. British secret surveys commence under Pandits Nain Singh and Krishna. British and Russian commercial rivalry. Foreign European expeditions commence. British temporary occupation of Lhasa. Flight of the Dalai Lama. 1908, His restoration. His deposition by the Chinese. 1912, His second restoration.

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATE.	CHIEF EVENTS.
BURMESE TRADITION		
	B.C. 850	Successive occupation by tribes from China : Mons (Talaings), Shans and Burmans.
	825	ABHIRAJA from Northern India conquers the Burmese Pyu (Piao) Tribes; founds Hindu Kingdom on the Irrawaddy at Tagaung; Kyaukpadaung (Arakan) added later.
	543	KANRAJA founds Magh (Burmese) Hindu Kingdom at Dhangrāvati (Arakan). Arakanese claim a previous Hindu Dynasty from B.C. 2866.
	483	SINSHARAJA founds Hindu Talaing Kingdom at Thatōn (B.C. 543-A.D. 573).
	362	MAHASAMHAYA (483-477); destroys Tagaung, founds Hindu Kingdom of Prome (B.C. 483-A.D. 372). DET-TABAUNG (hero-king), B.C. 442-372.
	A.D. 90-230	Buddhism brought to Burma from India.
	108	Allao (afterwards Nanchao, Pong) Kingdom of the Shans in Yunnan and Burma.
	146	THANOGGARIT (SAMUDRAKHAJA, 108-153) founds Pagan.
	422	CHANDRAKHAJA, traditional first Buddhist King of Arakan.
		BUDDHAGHOSHA (c. 390-450) said to introduce Southern Buddhism (Hinayāna) at Thatōn (also a Cambodian tradition). Centuries of struggle commence between Anahem (Sats and Nagās), Hinduism (Arl), South and North Buddhism (Mahāyāna).
	573	Foundation of Pegu (Hansāvati) as capital (573-1030).
DATED HISTORY PAGAN DYNASTY (BURMESE), A.D. 637-1010.	638 832 849-882	THENGA YAZA (SINGHARAJA, 637-604) founds the Burmese Era. Shan (Nanchao) incursions. NYAUNGURAW YAHAN, General monastic education commences.
BURMESE EMPIRE: 1010-1298.	1010-1052 1057-1085 1085-1160 1167-1204 1248-1279 1279-1298	ANAWRATA (ANURUDDHA) of Pagan; defeats the Shans. 1030. Destroys Pegu, captures the Talaing King MANCHA. KYANSITTHU. Talaing priests paramount in Pagan. 1057-1227. Building of Pagan. ALAUNGSIHU. 1103. Arakan tributary. 1106. Tribute sent to China. NARABADSIHU (NARAPATI SINHASIRA). 1170-1181. Expeditions to Ceylon. Southern Buddhism supreme. TAKOKPYE MIN (NARASINHA) Empire weakens. Rise of Shan (Talaing) Dynasties at Martaban and Pegu (1248-1287). Chinese (Shan) incursions. KYAWZWA. 1286. KUBLAI KHAN of China (1260-1294) suzerain. 1298. Collapse of the Empire.
MINOR DYNASTIES: TALAING OF PEGU, 1267-1540; SHANS OF PINYA AND MYINTAING, 1298-1364; OF SAGAING, 1315-1364; OF AVA, 1364-1554; MAGHS OF MYAUKU (MYOHANG), ARAKAN, 1426-1784; BURMAN-SHANS OF TAUNGU, 1470-1530.	1287 1298 1306-1350 1315 1364 1406-1422 1426 1459-1482 1470-1481 1476 1519	WAKERU of MARTABAN (1287-1306), a Shan Sawbwa (chief), founds Talaing Dynasty of Pegu. THIRATHU (SINHASIRA) TAKISHIN (1298-1322) founds Shan Dynasty of Pinya and Myintaring. SIAMSE incursions and partial conquests. ATHINGAYA (ASAKHARA) SAWYUN (1315-1322) founds Shan Dynasty of Sagaing. THADOMINBYA (1364-1367) founds Shan Dynasty of Ava; conquers much of Burma. MINGAUNG-GYL. Arakan subject to Ava. Rise of the Burman-Shans of Taungu. MIN SAWNUN (1426-1434) founds Arakanese Kingdom at Myauku (Myohang). HAWABYE of ARAKAN conquers Chittagong. SIRHU KYAWDIN, surnamed the BILU (ogre), founds Kingdom of Taungu. 1485-1530. MIN KYI NYO. DHAMMADETHI (RAMADHIPATI) OF PEGU (1458-1480) introduces modern Southern Buddhism from Ceylon. BINYA RAN OF PEGU (1481-1526). Portuguese in Martaban under Antonio Correa.
TALAING EMPIRE (BURMAN-SHANS OF TAUNGU): 1544-1599.	1530-1548 1548-1581 1580-1586 1581-1599	TADIN SHWEDI OF TAUNGU. 1540. Takes PEGU, defended by Ferdinando de Mortales, the first European to take service in Burmese dynastic wars. 1542. Takes Prome. 1544. King of Pegu. Rise of his general Bayin Naung. BAYIN NAUNG (BRANGINOCO). 1555. Takes Ava. 1558. Rules all Burma. 1564-1569. Takes Ayuthia, conquers Siam. 1567. Secures the "Holy Tooth" from Colombo. Great buildings in Pegu. European travellers in Pegu. 1569. Caesar Frederick (Venetian). 1582. Gasparo Balbi (Venetian). 1586. Ralph Fitch (English). NANDA BAYIN. Sudden collapse of Empire. 1596. Min Khamaung (Arakanese) takes Syrian.
BURMESE RULE: 1599-1746.	1599-1605 1600-1613 1605-1628 1612-1622 1659-1663 1709	Chaos. NYAUNG-YAN MIN, son of Bayin Naung, reigns at Ava. PHILIP DE BRITO, Portuguese adventurer. 1602. King of Pegu. 1613. Defeated and impaled by Mahadhammaraja of Ava. MAHADHAMMARAJA OF AVA. 1613. King of all Burma; suppression of the Portuguese pirates. MIN KHAMAUNG OF ARAKAN. 1619. Defeat of Sebastian Gonzales, pirate-ruler of Chittagong (1612-1619). Chinese incursions. English established in Negrais, Bassin and Syrian. French in Syrian.
TALAING RULE: 1740-1757.	1740-1746 1746-1757	MINTARA BUDDHAKETTI (1740-1746), a Gwe Shan of Pegu, re-establishes Talaing Rule. 1746. Becomes a monk. RINYA DALA, a Shan, elected King of Pegu. 1752. Takes Ava; rules all Burma. 1757. Defeated by Alompra. 1775. Executed after imprisonment.
ALOMPRA DYNASTY (BURMESE): 1753-1885.	1753-1760 1763-1776 1781-1819 1819-1838 1846-1852 1853-1878 1878-1885	ALOMPRA (ALAUNGPHAYA) OF SHWEDO. 1753. Takes Ava. 1755. Takes Prome; founds Rangoon (Yangon) near the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. 1757. Enters Pegu; destroys the Talaing power. 1759. Massacre of Europeans at Negrais. 1760. Expedition to Ayuthia and death. SINRYUSHIN. 1764. Conquers Manipur. 1765-1769. Chinese incursions. 1767. Conquers Siam; independent again in 1771. BODAWPHAYA. 1783. Founds Amarapura. 1784. Overruns Arakan. 1785-1793. War with Siam. BAGYIDAW. 1824-1826. First Burmese War. British annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim. PAGAN MIN. 1852. Second Burmese War. Annexation of Pegu. MINDON MIN. 1853. Founds Mandalay. THIRAW. 1885. Third Burmese War. 1886. Annexation of Upper Burma.
BRITISH RULE FROM 1886.	1886-1889	Pacification of Upper Burma.

DATES OF SIAMESE HISTORY

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATE.	CHIEF EVENTS.
TRADITION		
	B.C. 1109 450 93 A.D. 60-80 90-230 250-290 422	Occupation by kindred tribes from China : Mons, Chams, Khmers, Shans (Siamese) and Lavs. First mention by Chinese of Funan (Cambodia); tributary to China. Indian Hindu emigrants into Central Siam. 250. Introduction of Buddhism. Swankhalok-Sukhotai (Hindu Shan States) founded, lasting eight centuries. Kambu, Hindu eponymous hero of Cambodia (Kambuja, "sons of Kambu"). Allao (Shan) kingdom in Yunnan and Northern Shan States with Chinese tendencies. FAN MAN (FANSEMAN), the "Great King," founds a kingdom in Funan, and Chinese influences cease. Buddhaghosha (c. 390-450) introduces Southern Buddhism.
DATED HISTORY: THE EARLY KAMBUJAS (HINDU CAMBODIAN DYNASTY): 435-705.	435-495 527 500-590 604 610-650	KARNDINTA (KONDANNO, KHAO-CHIN-JU) founds Hindu kingdom in Cambodia as SEUTAVARMA KAMBUJA. 484. Embassy to China. 493. Shan State of Lopburi (Lavo) founded; capital Sano (Sornan, Shahr-i-naul). Lampun (Labong) first Lao-Shan State founded. BHAYARMA. Earliest known Cambodian inscriptions. MAHENDRAVARMA (590-610). First dated Cambodian inscription in Sanskrit. ISANAVARMA I. Great extension of kingdom, now called China by the Chinese. Foundation of Angkor Baurai (Vyadhapura). Huen Tsiang, Chinese traveller (629-645) in Cambodia.

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATE.	CHIEF EVENTS.
DIVIDED RULE (HINDU): 705-802.	705	Insurrections and division of kingdom into halves, each under its own ruler.
THE GREAT KAMBUJAS (THE BUILDERS): 802-1385; continuing as minor dynasties from 1385.	802	JAYAVARMA II. (802-869); revives the Kingdom; commences building on a colossal scale, followed by nearly all his successors.
	889-910	YASOVARMA. Completion of Angkor Thom (Yasodharpura).
	944-968	RAJENDRAVARMA. Buddhism develops.
	1112-1152	SRIVARMA II. The temple of Angkor Wat.
	1152-1162	DHARANENDRAVARMA. War with the Hindu Kings of Champa (Annam) commences; building ceases.
	1162-1201	JAYAVARMA VIII, the last "Great Kambuja." 1177. His capital sacked. 1190-1224. Champa conquered and annexed, but kingdom exhausted and its power weakened.
	1280	KUBLAI KHAN (1260-1294) drives the Shans out of South China, and weakens the Lao-Shan States, profoundly affecting Siam.
	1284	RAMA KACHING. Siamese Shans become the ruling race in Siam.
SIAMESE SHAN DYNASTY OF AYUTHA: 1350-1682.	1350-1369	PHRA KAMATHIBADI I. (CHAO UTRONG). Ayuthia founded and Siam a great kingdom. 1346. Modern chronicles of Cambodia commence.
	1382-1385	PHRA HAMASUEN II. 1384. Long wars with Cambodia and Pegu commence. 1385. Ayuthia captured.
	1511	PHRA PARAKARAJA (1500-1512). D'Albuquerque in Malacca.
	1558-1590	PHRA NARET (NARESA), the conqueror. Extension of Siamese rule. Disputes with Annam as to Cambodia, with rival kings there till 1846.
	1612-1685	European intercourse. 1612. First English ship. 1620. First Portuguese mission. 1685. French embassy of Louis XIV.
	1657-1688	PHRA NARAYU (1656-1688). Career of Constantine Phaulcon, Cephalonian Greek adventurer. 1688. Ayuthia in the hands of usurpers.
PERIOD OF USURPERS: 1687-1782.	1707	Sinbyushin of Burma destroys Ayuthia.
	1771	CHAO PHAYA TAKSIN (TAK, 1757-1782) rules at Bangkok. 1782. Murdered.
SIAMESE DYNASTY OF BANGKOK from 1782	1782-1809	CHAO PHAYA CHAKRI founds new dynasty as PHRA BUDHYOT FA (YOD FA). 1795 Angkor finally taken from Cambodia.
	1824-1851	PHRA NANG KLAO (CHAO PRASAT THONG). 1826. Commercial treaty with England. 1832. Extension of Siamese rule in Malay Peninsula. 1846. Annamese ousted from Cambodia. ANG DUONG, Siamese protégé (1846-1862), made king.
	1851-1868	PHRA PARAMENDRA MAHAMONGKUT. 1861. Mouhot (French) discovers ruins of Angkor Wat. 1864. French protectorate of Cambodia recognized. 1866 NORODOM of Cambodia (1862-1904) transfers capital to Phnompenh.
	1868-1910	PHRA CHULALONGKORN. Settlement of boundaries: 1893-1907. French: 1896-1909. British. 1908. General commercial treaties with Europe and Japan.
	1910	PHRA MONGKUT KLAO. 1911. Coronation.

DATES OF ANNAMESE HISTORY.

EMPIRES AND DYNASTIES.	DATE.	CHIEF EVENTS.
CHINESE SUZERAINTY IN TONGKING AND ANNAM: B.C. 235-A.D. 1425 (nominally to 1801). EARLY HINDU KINGS OF CHAMPA (VARMAN DYNASTY): B.C. c. 150-A.D. 965.	B.C. 235	Occupation in the north by Gaoes (Gaochi): south by Chams. Hindu emigration to the south.
	c. 150	SRI HWANGTI (246-210) of TSIN DYNASTY (246-206) suzerain of Gaochi (Tongking and Annam). B.C.
	A.D. 166	245-A.D. 110. Struggles with the Shans (Thais).
	222	PARAMESVARA founds kingdom of Champa.
	c. 250	Envoys of Marcus Aurelius (121-180) in Tongking.
	399-431	The "Three Kingdoms of China" (222-590). Tongking part of Wu Kingdom at Nanking.
	c. 450	MURARAJA (UROJA) founds Panduranga (Pantang).
	602-605	Chinese wars with Lamap (Champa).
	610-650	BHADRAVARMA (DHARMAMAHARAJA) embellishes Po Nagar Temple.
	756-808	SUI DYNASTY of China (580-617) heavily defeats Champa at Sri Banvi (Banoey). Struggle between north and south commences.
	774-787	ISANAVARMA I. Hsien Tsiang (629-645) visits "Mahachampa."
	829-854	756. ADAM (Ngan-nan) first so called. 808. Champa first called Chamba by the Chinese.
	918	PRATHIVINDRAVARMA (740-784); INDRAVARMA I. (786-802). Malay and Javanese attacks.
	931	VIKRANTAVARMA. Buddhist inscriptions.
		INDRAVARMA II. Cambodian raids.
CHAMPA DYNASTIES: SRI: 965-1139; SRIJAYA, 1139-1470.	968	Annamese rebellion. Rise of the Dinh.
	981-1004	DINH BO LANH (968-975) founds the Dinh Dynasty. Long wars with Champa commence.
		LE HANG (DAI HANG) sacks Sri Banvi (Banoey), the Champa capital.
	1044-1061	SRI PARAMESVARA (TOMTHUC) killed by LY THANH TONG (1054-1072).
	c. 1084	SRI PARAMABODDHISATTVA. Buddhism ascendant in Champa for a while.
ANNAMESE DYNASTIES: DINH, 968-981; First LE, 981-1010; LY, 1010-1225; TRAN, 1225-1402; HO, 1402-1429.	1139-1145	SRIJAYA INDRAVARMA II. (CHELI ISTOPREX). Last Sanskrit inscription.
	1178-1190	SRIJAYA INDRAVARMA III. 1190. Jayavarman of Cambodia conquers Champa. 1190-1227. Cambodian suzerainty.
	1242	TRAN THAI TONG (1225-1258) carries off a princess of Champa.
	1286	SRIJAYA SINHAVERMA II. (1275-1290) and TRAN NHON TONG (1270-1293) attacked by Kublai Khan: recovery in 1290. 1280 and 1292. Marco Polo in "Cyamba."
	1298-1306	SRIJAYA SINHAVERMA III. 1305-1306. Romance of Huyen Tran, Annamese Princess. c. 1300. Marriage of Cham princess to an Arab: introduction of Islam.
	1306-1313	Champa vassal of Annam.
	1353-1392	Career of the Champa hero, CHE (PRINCE) BONG NOA. 1392-1436. Anarchy in Champa.
	1412-1434	LE HOI (LE HUY LOU), Annamese. War of liberation (1412-1428) from MISO DYNASTY.
	1428	LE HOI founds the Second Le Dynasty.
	1436-1446	SRIJAYA SINHAVERMA IV. Last Champa inscription. 1446. Capital (Pantang) taken by LE THANH TONG (1435-1473). 1446-1470. Anarchy in Champa.
SECOND LE DYNASTY: 1428-1540 (nominally to 1801). NGUYEN DYNASTY from 1801. FRENCH SUZERAINTY from 1803.	1470	Champa finally annexed to Annam. Chams absorbed by Annamese.
	1470-1540	Wars with Tongking.
	1540-1445	Rise of two families ruling in the name of the Le Dynasty: NGUYEN OF ANNAM (Hue); TRINH OF TONGKING (Hanoi).
	1551-1787	Continuous struggle between Nguyens and Trinh. 1595 First European Mission (Spanish).
	1787	NGUYEN GIALONG (1778-1820). Treaty with Louis XVI. 1801. King (Vua) of Tongking, Annam, and Cochina China with French assistance.
	1820-1875	MISO-MANG (1820-1841); THIECTRI (1841-1847); TUDUK (1847-1883). 1825-1856. Persecutions of Christians. 1863. French suzerainty of Cochina China (Saigon) and Cambodia. 1867. Annexation.
	1873-1885	Tongking War. 1885. Tongking and Annam a French protectorate.
	1885-1891	Guerrilla war with the Black Flags. 1886. PAUL BERT, Resident-General.
	1891-1894	DE LASSERAS, Governor-General. 1893. Quang Prabang annexed.
	1897-1908	PAUL DOUMER (1897-1902); JEAN BRAU (1902-1908); Governors-General. 1893-1904. Final settlement of Siamese border.

(1403-1425), the Ming Emperor of China, whose suzerainty (1407-1412) had become too pronounced, and Châmpā was left in peace for a while.

But in 1446 Le Thanh Tong (1435-1473) took the capital of the last Srijaya king, which had reverted to Paurang (Pânduranga). On this there was anarchy in Châmpā until it was finally annexed by Annam in 1470, and the Chams became absorbed into the Annamese, their last chief emigrating into Cambodia in 1820. Thus ended the interesting Hindu kingdom of Châmpā, the kings of which were important builders long before Angkor was heard of, and despite their many troubles, kept up a stately rule at their home to the last.

The Le dynasty of Annam, founded by Le Loi in 1428, which had overthrown Châmpā, continued to reign at least nominally till 1801. But in 1540 the Nguyễn family began to rule in their name at Huế, while the Trinh family were doing the same thing in Tongking at Hanói. In 1551 there commenced a struggle for supremacy between them, which was still going on in 1787, when the Nguyễn ruler, Gialong, concluded a treaty with Louis XVI., and by the help of a French force established himself as king of all the country from Tongking to Cochin-China in 1801.

This victory, however, meant in the end the passing of control over the whole of the Annamese kingdom and much more into the hands of the French. Gialong's successors did not follow his policy, and massacres of Christians from 1825 to 1858 led to the annexation of Saigon and Cochin-China in 1867. The tedious Tongking War (1873-1885) followed, and by 1885 Annam and Tongking became French protectorates. Then came troubled days of guerilla warfare with the Black Flag pirates and outlaws, whose many devastations lasted from 1885 to 1891, when De Lanessan, as Governor-General (1891-1894), restored peace in 1893 by the expedient of ruling through the native king. In the same year there were border troubles with Siam, which resulted in the addition (1893) of Luang Prabang to French Indo-China, and in the Mekong being made its western boundary in 1904.

The story of the French occupation of Annam is remarkable for the facts that the efforts of Jules Ferry (1833-1886) in bringing about the conquest of Indo-China caused the downfall of his Ministry; that it was only by four votes in the French Parliament that the conquest was upheld, and that local jealousies stirred up by De Lanessan in rendering European government possible in the country led to a sudden recall, reminiscent of the fate of Olive and Warren Hastings in India.

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY MAJOR C. ECKFORD LUARD, M.A., I.A.

The Revolt of Khwaja Naik. A Ballad.

THE Marāṭhī song given below was obtained in the Barwāni State. This revolt took place during the Mutiny. Khwāja or Khājā Naik was a resident of Sāngīr, a village on the Agra-Bombay road in the Shīrpār Tālūka of Khāndēsh, about 17 miles from Shīrpār. He was in receipt of an allowance of a hundred rupees a month from the British Government at the time he revolted, and was incited thereto by stories of the Mutiny, and especially by the exploits of Tāntiā Topī. He induced two Bhils, Bhīmā and Mawāsiā, to join him. A letter to Rānā Jaswant Singh of Barwāni, from Colonel H. M. Durand, then Resident at Indore, dated 26 August 1857, mentions that these men had

looted Datwādā village and soon afterwards they looted British treasure passing along the high road. On 19th November 1858 Tāntiā Topi reached Khargāon in the Indore State, hard pressed by the British. Khwāja Nāik and the other Nāiks joined him, the whole party being some 4,000 strong. They were attacked by Major Sutherland near Rājpur and defeated, the leaders escaping. A second fight took place at Dhabā Bāodī, a village eight miles from Barwāni. Bhīmā was caught soon afterwards and transported, but Khwāja Nāik continued to plunder along the high road. Finally some Makrāni detectives were employed, who captured and decapitated him, taking his son, Polā Siūh, a boy eight years old.

As to the persons and places mentioned in the Ballad "*Kamāni Sāhib*" is either a "Commanding Officer", or, more probably, Captain W. G. Cumming, Bhil Agent at Barwāni, and "*Barsi*," or (as he is still spoken of by some of the old men who took part in these events) "*Barchhi Sāhib*," is possibly Lt. Birch, who disarmed the Burhānpūr Mutineers in July 1857. *Paldsner*, is a village on the Agra-Bombay road in Khāndesh. *Shirpur* is the head-quarters of a *tāluka* in Khāndesh. The *Rahi tank* is probably the Rehētiā tank near Rājpur in Barwāni. The *Mogar* or *Mogri* river is the boundary between Indore and Barwāni territory in the Pansewāl *pargana* of Barwāni. *Khadiā*, is a village near Rājpur, in Barwāni. *Malegāon*, *Dhūliā* and *Dharangāon* are all in Khāndesh. The Jāmniā-nālā falls near the Agra-Bombay road, by Sendhvā.

This song is one of the numerous compositions which serve to keep local events alive in the memories by the people.

SONG.

Ingrajyāshī Khājia Nāik hota milāna.	Khājia Nāik was always on good terms with the English.
Khājia Nāikāvar dagā kelā, pahā, shipāyāna.	But, note how the sepoys acted treacherously towards him.
Bhīmā Nāik badalālā, kasbar bāndhile tyāna,	As Bhīma Nāik has revolted, and girdled his loins for the fray;
Konya divashīn Khājia Nāik jāil badlūna.	So probably Khājia Nāik will soon follow him.
Khājia Nāikāvar jasi mansūba kelā Sāhibāni,	(As a precaution against) Khājia Nāik's action the Sāhib proposed,
Pratham tapyāche ghode ana soḷūni;	That all the ponies on the stages be called in;
Jeohān tapyāche ghode soḷe Khājia Nāyākāne,	But Khājia Nāik loosed the stage ponies.
Saḷakevarchā tār toḷila pahā, tyā mardāna.	And cut the telegraph wires on the high-road, so brave was he.
Palāsner lūtān, Sātpuḍyā gelā chājhūna,	He plundered Palāsner and fled to the Sātpuḍas,
Senduyāchyā Ghāṭa madhyeṃ baslā jāūna.	And made his home in the Sendhwa Pass.
Kamāni Sāheb gelā Narmadā utrāna.	Cumming Sahib crossed the Narmadā after him.
Antān Khājia Nāik yeil koṭyā wāṇa. ?	"By what road can Khājia Nāik escape (thought the Sahib) ?
Tyālā jitāchī marin kiū Kāleṃ Pāni dāvina.	I will either kill him or have him transported."

Asâ mansûba kelâ Kamâni sâhibâne.
 Jasâ gâi madhyen vyâghra shirto, tase âle
 Khâje Râv.
 Ingrajâni tal soḍile pâhilâ Shirpûr gâona.

Such was Cumming Sahib's plan.
 But like a tiger among cows, Khâjia Râv
 rushed on them,
 And the English left the camp and went to
 Shirpûr.

Tek :—

Chorus :—

Dhuman Nâyaka potin janamle sawâi Khâje
 Râv
 Ingrajâshi gheûn laḍhâi chau deshîṇ kele
 nâv

Thus did Khâjia Râv, son of Dhuman Nâik
 Gain a name throughout the world by
 fighting the English

Rahichyâ Talyâvar phaujâ paḍyâ jāuna.

The troops were encamped on the Rahi
 Tank.

Mogar naḍi utrûn gelâ ghyâ tumhîn aikâna,
 Bhavânyâchyâ Talyâvartî hotî, âoge jâna.

Then they crossed the Mogar river,
 And assembled on the bank of the Bhavâni
 Tank.

Khaḍaki varatî mukâm dere dile khâjiâna.

Khâjiâ came and pitched his camp at Kha-
 ḍaki Village.

Saḍakechî be; ânli hotî shipayâna :

There a sepoy reported to him that a force
 was on the way:

Ingrajâchyâ yeto khajina ubhya saḍakâna.

And that English money was coming by the
 high-road.

Ingrejacha yeto khajâna ubhyâ saḍkâna.

(There he heard) that English money was
 coming by the high-road.

Karûn kuchyâvâr kâch saḍakâvar gelâ
 châlûna.

Making forced marches, he reached the
 road.

Ubhyâ nâliyâchâ râsta dharila Barsi
 Sâhibâna,
 gâmniya nâliyâvar saḍak basala rokhûna.

Birch Sâhib, meanwhile, came down the
 water-course,

Gosâvî Nâik, Chain Siûh, âle milûna.

And took up a position on the Jamnia
 Stream.

Ingrajâchâ yeto Khajina ubhyâ saḍkhâna.

The Gosâvî Nâik, Chain Siûh, now joined
 (Khâjiâ).

Sâhibâchâ khajina Khâjiâna nelâ lutûna :
 Ingrej karitât mansûba basûna

As soon as the English treasure reached
 the road,

Khâjiâ fell upon it and plundered it,
 While the English were still making plans.

Tek :—

Chorus :—

Dhuman Nâyaka potin janamle sawâi Khâje
 Râv
 Ingrajâshi gheûn laḍhâi chau deshîṇ kele
 nâv

Thus did Khâjia Râv, son of Dhuman Nâik

Gain a name throughout the world by
 fighting the English

Teohân Kamâni Sâhib Barsi Sâhib âle
 milûna ;

Then Cumming Sâhib and Birch Sâhib met,

Shirpûr Shaharâvartî paḍâv ghatâla tyâni.
 Khâjiâ Nâyakâsi dharûn mansûba kelâ
 Sâhibâna.

And pitched camp at Shirpûr town.

And here the Sâhibs determined to catch
 Khâjiâ Nâik.

Nâlyâchâ râsta dharila Barsi Sâhibâna,
 Khâjiachyâ baiakârchâ mel gelâ gavasûna.

Then Birch Sâhib descended by the stream,
 And seizing Khâjiâ's wives, whom he found,

Shirpūr gāonāwarti tyāna āle ghevūna,
Ingrej karitat mansūba basuna.
Shirpurāvar Khājiā Nāyaka yeil chālūna :

Āplyā bāikā neyil kaḍhūna yāna reūn
Malygāū theina.

Asā pakkā mansūba kelā Ingrejāna :
Nāyakāla khabar kalali jāūna,
Tumchyā shirāchī nemlī pāina.

Jasā gāi madhyen vyāghra shirto, tase āle
Khāje Rāv.
Ingrejāshī gheūn laḍhāi chaudeshī kele nāva.

He took them away to Shirpūr.
The English then held a Council.
They thought Khajia Naik would attack
Shirpūr,
And determined to place his wives at Maly-
gāou, as he would try to get them.
Such was the final idea of the English :
But the Naik learnt of their plans,
And heard that they had offered a reward
for his head :
As a tiger dashes into a herd of cows, so
did Khāje Rāv fall on them.
He made his name famous by his fight with
the English.

Tek :—

Chorus :—

Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawāi Khāje
Rāv
Ingrejāshī gheūn laḍhāi chau deshīn kele
nāv

Thus did Khājiā Rāv, son of Dhuman Naik
Gain a name throughout the world by
fighting the English

Khājiā Nāyakāna laḍhāi kele moḥiyā gham-
shāne :

Manūshyānehīn shiren udvītīn chenḍe
pramāṇe :

Tevhān raktāchyā nadya vāhatī tyā pahā-
dhīna.

Jakhmi kele phār neti, doliūt ghalūna.

Kamānī Sāhib, Barsī Sāhib hote doghe jāna :

Khājiachyā shirāchī nemiyeli pāina.

Laḍhāichā divas nemiyāla hotil, shirāche
shirpāra.

Kityek maratī, kityek vāchatī : Shri Hari
majala pāva.

Khajia Naik fought desperately :

And men's heads flew about like balls in
a game :

And blood flowed, as the streams of water
flow in those hills.

Many were wounded, and carried away on
stretchers.

Cumming Sāhib and Birch Sāhib, both were
present,

And they offered a reward for Khājiā's head.
A day was fixed for the fight, when heads
must fall,

How many will die, how many will escape—
O Hari help me.

Tek :—

Chorus :—

Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawāi Khāje
Rāv
Ingrejāshī gheūn laḍhāi chau deshīn kele
nāv

Thus did Khājiā Rāv, son of Dhuman Naik
Gain a name throughout the world by
fighting the English

Baḍiā Sāhibāne patra lihile hoteñ Nayakāsi :

Sātpūḍya soḍūn yāve bheḥishīn.

Tevhān Nayakāna utr lihile tyā Sahibāsi :

"Anand Rāv Bāpū Pātīl dhāḍa bheḥishīn.

Itkyā varatī marjī āplī, Sarkārachi khushī."

Anand Rāv Bāpū Pātīl gele bheḥishīn.

Sātpūḍya soḍūn Nāyak āle Shirpūrisi.

Then the political officer wrote a letter to
the Naik,

Asking him to come down from the Sātpūḍas
and meet him.

To this the Naik wrote an answer, saying,

"Let Anand Rāv Pātīl come and see me."

All depends on your kindness and the
Governments pleasure."

So Anand Rāv Pātīl came and saw him.

Then the Naik came down to Shirpūr from
the Sātpūḍas.

Dān dharma punya kele upulya vaṇilāsī.	In his father's name he gave gifts to charities.
Dar kuchāsan chālūn gele Shahr Dhuliasī.	By rapid marches he came to Dhulī.
Shambhū Nāyak, Barkū Pātīl gele Male- gāonāsī :	Shambhū Nāik and Barkū Pātīl thus went to Malegāon,
Nāyakachyā bāikā gheūna āle Dhūliāsī.	And brought the Nāiks' wives to Dhūliā.
Bājya Sāhibāne hukum kelā Khājiā Nāya- kāsi :	Then the political officer gave Khājiā Nāik an order,
Mule mānase gheūn tumchī rāha Sāṅvisē :	To go to Sāṅvi with all his family ;
Gharīn basūn pagār khāva kanū nāhīn trijā- sīn ;	That he would receive a regular allowance at his residence and should want for nothing,
Sātpādychyā pahāḍa madhyen jūnā mohasi.	As he was an old chieftain of the Satpāda hills.
Saḍakechyaṛa rasta vāhe din rāt.	Then the high road was free to traffic day and night.
Sāhebāne nāv kelen chāv malkhāvara.	The English have made themselves famous everywhere.
Saḍak bāndhīlī Kashichyā sāmora.	They extended the metalled road to Benares.
Pahāḍa madhyen Khājiā Nāyak jasa ek vyāghra.	But Khājiā Nāik (was famous) as a tiger of the hills.
Tyāne yasha jinkile Dhabā Bāodivara.	At Dhabā Bāoḍī he won a victory.
<i>Tek :—</i>	
Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawāi Khāje Rāv	Thus did Khājiā Rāv, son of Dhuman Nāik
Ingrajāshī gheūn laḍhāi chau deshiṇ kele nāv	Gain a name throughout the world by fighting the English
Ek jātichyā shipāie chākar thevila hausepe.	Now (on settling down) he entertained sepoys as his servant.
Chākaris chūklā jive mārīlā bandūkina.	The sepoy failed to do his duty and the Nāik shot him.
Gheūn mule mānase pahāḍa madhyen basla jāūna.	Then he fled to the heart of the hills, and lived there with his household.
Ingrejāshī khabar kalālī Sāhib ale thāūna.	On hearing of this occurrence the English hastened (to Sāṅvi).
Vilāyatīehi chaughe bandhū pāhatī drishtina :	Four Pathans (brothers of the murdered man) had seen the deed :
" Āmcha bhau marila āmhī gheūn Khājiāchyā prāna. "	" As he killed our brother (they swore) we will kill Khājiā. "
Sāhebāna inām patra dile lihāna.	The Sahib issued a written promise of re- ward (for his capture).
Chaughe bandhū milūna chalale , pahā, jaldīna.	Now see how the four brothers went off at once.
Khājiavar chaughe yama gele chālūna.	These four messengers of death went to Khājiā.
Khājiā Nāyak pahāḍa madhyen basala moujena.	Khājiā was living quietly in his mountain home.
Khājiāla mujrā kelā : " Āmhi, jāne chākar pahūlya pasūna, "	They came and made obeisance to him (saying) : "we are your ancient servants."
Khājiāchyā mānevar thevli māna.	And placed their necks on his.

Chorus :—

Khājialā bhārvasa āla pahilyā pasūna.

Yevade bolne aikle Bhīmā Nāyakāna :

"Sutale chākar punhā thevane dusmana
pramāṇa."

Bhīma Nāyakāche kāhe dile modūna !

Khājiane vairi thevile apulya hātāna.

Ek divas chālālā aūgholi kārūna,

Te chaughe shipāi saūgaṭi ghevūna.

Bardia khāli nālyāvar gele utarāna.

Aūghol māṇḍli Khājīā Nāyakāna.

Shirichyā rumāl thevilā kā hūna.

Daṇḍā che te tālt thevile soḍūna.

Gaivar vyāghra ṭaple te chaughe jāna.

Aūghol karūn kari Bhagvantā che dhyāna.

Mauli goli dila thar karūna.

Thadivar Khājīā paḍala yeūna.

Tyachi bahin dhāvat āli raḍe galī dharāna :

"Ya Kājia vachūn vyarthi ammeche jīna."

Kathina jabāb dilā tenblīa tyā Vilāyatyaṇa :

"Dūr dūr, Bāi, shir gheūde kapīna.

Shira sāthi ālo amhi he chaughe jāna."

Magūn ghāv marīla, Jamādārāna.

Yeka ghāvā madhyen bahin bhāu kele thar.

Khājīā Nāyakāche shir kاپile chau deshī nāv.

Tek :—

Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawāi Khāje
Rāv

Ingrajāshi gheūn laḍhāi chau deshī ke
nāv

Tevhan Khājīā Nāyakāchi kaṇṭhi ghetli
Jamādārāna :

Suvarnāchi kaḍē ghetlē tyachyā bandhūnē.

Rumāl toḍa dabala, pāhā tyā tisaryāne.

Khājīā Nāyakāche shir kاپile, pāhā, tyā
chautyāne.

Kumālāt te shir ghalūn chālile ghevūna.

Kājīā Naik accepted their statement un-
hesitatingly.

But Bhīmā Naik said on hearing it :

"To re-engage dismissed servants is the
same as harbouring an enemy."

But the Naik did not heed Bhīmā.

So Khājīā kept his enemies of his own free
will.

One day he went to bathe,

Taking the four sepoys with him.

He descended the hill and went to the
stream.

Khājīā got ready to bathe.

He took the turban off his head,

And the amulet on his arm he laid aside.

The four tigers were waiting quietly for
the cow.

After bathing he began his prayers.

At this moment they shot him down,

And Kājīā fell from upon the bank.

His sister came running up and put her arm
round his neck weeping sorely.

(Crying) "Without Khājīā life to us is
valueless."

The Pathans harshly replied :

"Stand aside, girl, let us cut off his head.

We four have come for his head."

Then the Jamadar struck a blow from
behind.

With the same stroke brother and sister
died.

By thus cutting off this Naik's head, they
gained great fame.

Chorus :

Thus did Khājīā Rāv, son of Dhuman Naik

Gain a name throughout the world by
fighting the English.

The Jamadar then took away Khājīā Naik's
necklace.

While, another brother took away his golden
bangle.

Note, the third took away, his anklet and
scarf.

And see, how the fourth struck off Khājīā
Naik's head.

Wrapping up the head in the scarf, they
bore it away.

Yet hota Polā Siñh saḍakevar milvile tyāna.	Now Polā Siñh was passing along the road, and met them.
Tujhyā bāpāche shīr anile kapūna.	(They said) "See, we have brought your father's severed head.
"Palāyācha upāya karshil jāshil jivāna."	Do not attempt to fly, or you will share his fate."
Adnyan bāl mani gela bhivona.	He was but an ignorant youth and became frightened.
Ghodyāvar basla hota khali āla utrāna.	He dismounted and went up to them.
Polā Siñh raḍato shirāla bheḍūna.	Polā Siñh took the head and wept.
Polā Siñh anala Shīrpūrasīn dharūna.	So they brought Polā Siñh into Shīrpūr.
Shīr dāville kacherit neūna.	They went to the office and shewed the head.
Tya shīra sāthi raḍate āoghe jāna.	All wept for the slain man on seeing the head.
Thar akānt jhāla Shīrpūra karāna.	There was violent wailing in Shīrpūr.
Sakarī vātlyā tyāchya dushmanāna,	But his enemies (delighted) distributed sugar.
Shīrāla jhāla Dharangāvīn hukuma.	They were ordered to go to Dharangāvī with the head.
Te shīr dāville banglyāt neūna.	They went there and produced the head at the (Sāhib's) house.
Sāhibāne shīr pāhile drishtina,	The Sāhib saw the head, and examined it.
Chār hajār rupāyo dile moḍūna.	He counted out four thousand rupees to them (as a reward).
Tyā shīrā sāthi jariche kafan.	A cloth of gold brocade was provided as a cover for the head.
Tyā shīrāla jhāla saḍakecha hukuma.	And it was ordered that the head should be buried on the high road.
Te shīr gaḍile saḍakevar neūna.	So the head was buried on the high road.
Polā Siñhāsi jhāla pahāḍachā hukuma.	Polā Siñh was told to go back to the hills.
"Tiyhia bāpāche jāga byis rokhūna."	(The Sāhib said to him) "Take up your father's position."
Adnyān bāle arj dilā lihūna.	Boy as he was he petitioned :
Mājhyā bāpāche shīr anile kapūna,	"As my father's head has been cut off and brought here,
Sāngvichī jāgaant mī basūna"	So let me settle in Sāngvi, Sir."
Ingrej bahādur gelā mani bharkūna ;	But the English were suspicious of his intentions,
Polā Siñhāsi jhāla Mumbaicha hukuma.	And Polā Siñh was ordered to go to Bombay.
Polā Siñh ghātala Mumbāis neūna.	And to Bombay he was therefore taken.
Pahāḍā madhyen bash Ingrejyāche thāṇā ;	While the English established posts throughout the hills,
Sāngvi jāgā takilī moḍūna.	And utterly demolished Sāngvi.

Tek :—

Chorus :—

Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawāi Khāje Rāv
Ingrajāshi gheūn laḍhāi chau deshīn kele nāv

Thus did Khājī Rāv, son of Dhuman Nāik
Goin a name throughout the world by fighting the English

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 36.)***The Jesuit theory of oppression not quite trustworthy.**

The theoretical rate of 50 per cent. of the gross produce would have been, if strictly adhered to, hard enough for the cultivators; but we are informed that the Polygars and the crown officials were always rapacious, and squeezed more from the ryots. Their rapacity, says the Jesuit authority, "was usually limited only by the inability of the Ryot to pay, or by his success in deceiving or bribing the collecting staff." It is difficult to believe this severe and wholesale condemnation. The large number of wars in which the Naik kings were engaged, the size and extent of the grants they made to Brāhmans and temples, the enormous amount they spent in the construction of public works and in the performance of charities, the industrious liberality with which they constructed vast irrigation works, could hardly have been possible, if the revenue system were based on injustice and tyranny. An unceasing extortion by revenue officials would have hopelessly impoverished the country, and made it unable to bear the burden of those incessant wars and those works of unproductive expenditure, for which the Kartas were famous. The country's splendour and luxury, moreover, could not have been the result of a reckless maladministration. Indeed the dynasty itself could not have been in power for such a long time, if it had been erected on the foundations of tyranny and cruelty. The importance attached to a just rule in contemporary literature, and the laudation of the kings in inscriptions could not have happened in an atmosphere of unalloyed misery. The praises of chronicles, the exploits of kings like Raāga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, the works of Tirumal Naik and Maigammāl are even now existing proofs of a prosperous kingdom and a resourceful people. It is therefore safe to conclude that, as a rule, the administration was paternal and sympathetic, while there were not wanting, as the Jesuit writers inform us, grave intervals of oppression and misrule. As A. J. Stuart says,⁷⁶ a government whose wealth and whose tastes are manifested by hundreds of temples and statues throughout the peninsula, and whose readiness to employ all its resources for the benefit of its people, as proved by the number and nature of the irrigation works which it completed, implies a contented and prosperous people; while a high state of the arts and of knowledge is abundantly testified by the exquisite design and workmanship discoverable in many of the temples and statues, as well as by the grasp and mastery of the principles of irrigation, a complicated and difficult branch of the engineering art displayed in their irrigation system."

Comparison of the Naik assessment with the later Musalman system.

Passing on to the question how far the Naik assessment was heavy or light when compared with later assessments, we have first to see that it was, in the words of A. J. Stuart, undoubtedly light when "compared to that of the Mahomedan Government of the Nawabs of the Carnatic which follows." In highly eloquent and pathetic terms Dr. Caldwell describes the oppression of the Carnatic Renter⁷⁷ and the absolute helplessness of the Ryot in the days of the Carnatic Raj. Interested in squeezing as much as possible, the Renters practically reduced the farmer's share to 16 per cent. of the produce. It was out of this meagre dole that he was to maintain his family, to furnish the stock and implements of husbandry, to purchase cattle and meet other expenses. Besides, he was compelled to "labour week after week at the repair of water-courses, tanks and embankments of rivers." He could

⁷⁶ *Tinnevely Manual* p. 69. Tinnevely alone contained 36 pagodas of note and nearly 400 receiving endowments (exclusive of village pagodas), in the beginning of the 19th century. "This gives some idea of the wealth and civilization of the province at a very early period." In Madura there should have been a much larger number of such shrines.

⁷⁷ *His Tinnevely*; Stuart's *Tinnevely Manual*, p. 53.

not reap his harvest without the sanction of the Renter, who could chastise disobedience with bodily torture and wholesale confiscation. He was prevented from the sale of corn without the payment of transit duties at almost every tenth mile on his way to the market,—a hardship which he shared with manufacturers and merchants. The prices of his goods, again, were not always regulated by the natural laws of demand and supply, as the exchange of specie could be raised or sunk at the Renter's discretion. The possibility of famines was, in consequence, a common object of fear. With the military force at his disposal, with all the judicial and civil authorities also united in his hands, the Renter, after all a mercenary in his ideals, had all those tremendous powers which "ought to constitute the dignity and lustre of supreme executive authority," and which he prostituted, at the expense of the people, to his insatiable greed and boundless avarice. It is not surprising that, in the time of the Carnatic Nawabs, the agriculturist was a miserably poor and robbed person. It is true that the provincial Governor of the Nāik Kingdom, who was of course immediately subordinate to the Karta, had all the powers, privileges and dignities of the later Renter. But there seems to have been a greater control of the Governor under the Kartas. He was moreover not a short time farmer of the revenues, who could oppress the people or the Zamindars and vassal Rājās with impunity. He seems to have been invested with powers for an unlimited time, the duration of his power depending on his capacity to rule and his sympathy with the people. The central government also seems to have been comparatively vigilant in following his actions and checking his vagaries. The small incidence which took place at Tinnevely in the time of the Governor Tiruvēṅgaṇāthaiya and his suzerain, Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa Nāik, illustrates the financial check of the Karta over the provincial ruler.

Comparison with the British system.

If the Nāik administration of the land revenue was milder and more equitable than the later Muhammadan administration it was, in the view of some at least, not so mild or so equitable as the British administration of the present day. Mr. Nelson who first made such a comparison arrived at a very extravagant conclusion.⁷⁸ On the ground that Father Martin, a Jesuit writer, writes that in 1713 eight *marakāls* of rice were sold for one *faṇam*, i. e., 96 lbs. of rice for 2½d., and that in 1866, when the *Madura Manual* was written, it was sold at 20 lbs. per rupee, Nelson concluded that the Nāik revenue of £1,200,000 was really equal to 50 million pounds sterling of the "present day,"—the purchasing power of money then being 40 times the purchasing power in 1866! Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, the late Inspector General⁷⁹ of Registration (Madras) and the author of the celebrated *Memorandum on the 40 years' Progress of the Madras Presidency* (1893), made a more moderate estimate. He points out that, according to Father Martin, a quantity of eight *marakāls* of rice was needed for a man's maintenance for 15 days, and that these 8 *marakāls* were worth 2½d. Practical experience shows, however, that 8 *marakāls* are not wanted for a man for 15 days. The utmost that he is likely to need is 3 lbs. per day, and therefore 45 lbs. for 15 days. Now the Dewan Bahadur's contention is that even if these 45 lbs. are considered to have been worth 2½d., the price in 1713 would be 1/12 of the price in 1893 (when the author wrote his memorandum). The purchasing power of the money in 1713, in other words, was twelve times the purchasing power in 1893. Mr. Hayavadana Rao carried this argument further. Assuming in a purely arbitrary manner—that the purchasing power of money in the 17th century was double that in the 18th, he concludes that the Nāik revenue of £1,200,000 or 180 lakhs of rupees was in reality equal to six times 180 lakhs, and that it was therefore 9 times the present land revenue in the same districts, which amounts to 120 lakhs of rupees.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Madura Manual*, 155-6.

⁷⁹ See *Ind. Antq.* November 1911, p. 281-2 where a summary is given of both Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* It will be seen that this writer simply multiplies the total sterling amount by 15 to find out the silver equivalent!

The mistakes of Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.

The calculations of these writers have been vitiated by certain mistakes. I have already shewn how Nelson was not justified in holding the sum of £880,000 as land revenue, and how it would be more proper to hold that, out of a total revenue of £880,000 a sum of £550,000 or roughly £600,000 alone formed the land revenue. A second mistake of Nelson is that he gives too low a value for a *faṇam*. It is true that there were various *faṇams*,⁸¹ gold and silver, current in the middle ages, and it is difficult to say to what *faṇam* Father Martin has referred. But a little investigation into the numismatic history of the peninsula and a more careful study of the chronicles tell us that the *faṇam* usually in currency was in gold and was in value one tenth of a pagoda and one fifth of a *pon*. The *faṇam* weighed, as a rule, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and thus formed a tenth of the pagoda in value. The Tanjore *faṇams*, for example, which had "a Swāmi on the concave side and, on the convex, double lines crossing each other at right angles," weighed $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The Madura *faṇams* resembled the Tanjore *faṇams*, but the lines on the convex side intersected less regularly and were accompanied by two minute circles. They also weighed $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The Negapatam *faṇams* weighed $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains and the Tinnevely or "Koili" *faṇams* which, as Marsden says, "were current from the Koleroon river to the southern extremity of the peninsula, are thin and flat, with impressions that have too little apparent meaning to admit of description," weighed $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains.⁸² The point to be noted is that it is these gold *faṇams* which must have been referred to by Father Martin, and not the small silver *faṇams* which exchanged for a few *kāṇus* and which were used only in very small transactions. Nelson is therefore wrong in equating a *faṇam* to $2\frac{1}{2}d$. The correct value is one tenth of $7s. 6d.$ that is $3s.$ Now it will be seen that, according to Martin, 8 *marakāls* of husked rice, which we may take as the equivalent of 16 *marakāls* of paddy, were worth $9d.$ It follows from this that a *kalam* (12 *marakāls*) of paddy sold for $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1713, and we may presume in the earlier period of the Nāik History also. The equivalent of $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1713 was $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas, as the ratio between gold and silver was then 1 to 15, and to $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas in 1500-1600, as the ratio was then 1 to 10. Now in the year 1902 the price of paddy was Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$, and so the purchasing power of money in the 16th century was a little less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ times. The crown land revenue of 60 lakhs was therefore equivalent to 375 lakhs of rupees; and as the land revenue in the same districts in 1902 was 120 lakhs, it is plain that the Nāik land revenue was $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the British one. Nominally, of course, it was half; but in reality, on account of the greater purchasing power of money, thrice the burden on the ryot of 1902. Similar proportions can be found out for the other periods; but what has been thus far said is enough to shew that the Nāik land tax was not so burdensome as scholars have hitherto imagined it to be.

(To be continued.)

⁸¹ See Marsden (*Numismata Orientalia*, 1825, II) p. 739. Bidie's *Coin Collections* gives a number of *faṇams* the general weight of which may be said to be $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Of these we may note Calicut *faṇams* (5.79 grs.), Cochin *faṇams* (Puttan, 5.85), Cully *faṇam* (Tinnevely 4.512 grs. to 5.55 grs.), Ikkēri *faṇams* (5.725 grs.), Ghidḍa *faṇam* (5.79), Guligai *faṇam* (5.846), Gōpāla *faṇam* (Salem, 5.0625), Kanterāi *faṇams* (5.6875), Lakshmi *faṇam* (5.6125), Moolakavirai or Puttan *faṇam* (5.1375-5.35 grs.), Nāgur *faṇams* (5.075-5.625), etc. See Bidie's *Coin Collections*, 41-9. Marsden points out that the average *faṇams* weighed between $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 grains. According to Buchanan, gold *faṇam* was $1/12$ pagoda, but "in all those I have compared" says Marsden, "the proportion of weight is as 1 to 9." (*Numis. Orient.* II, 736). The silver *faṇams* were much less valuable. According to some 8 *kāṇ* went to make one *faṇam*, and 42 *faṇams* one pagoda. Later on, 12 *faṇams* were equal to one Arcot Rupee, i. e., $23\frac{1}{2}d.$ English. (Bidie, p. 27). According to another, 9 *kāṇ* went to make one *faṇam*, and 15 *faṇams* one pagoda. Still another says, 9 *kāṇ* were equal to one *faṇam* and 16 *faṇams* to one pagoda (See *Factory Records*, 1619, p. 263). The *Madura Gazr.* says that 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ Kali *faṇams* made a pagoda (Star pagoda). The value of a *faṇam* varies, however, in different localities. In Madura it is 3 annas and 4 pies and in the Dindigul division 4 annas." (p. 153) According to Buchanan 10,000 Gōpāla *faṇams* were equal to £139-13-3. i. e. A *faṇam*= $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ roughly. (Vol. II, p. 9.)

⁸² Marsden, p. 746.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

No. V.

JAMES HARDING.

JAMES HARDING, the fifth of our "Worthies," is notable chiefly for his unorthodox opinions and his disagreeable temper. During the twenty years in which his name occurs among the Records of the East India Company, there is not one kindly mention of him, nor any reason to suppose that he ever made a friend. In fact, except for the period when he was under the special protection of Job Charnock at Kasimbazar, he appears to have been always at variance with his superiors and his fellow workers. At a time when the small communities of the various factories in Bengal were drawn together, either by the need of social intercourse, or for mutual assistance in their private trading ventures, the omission of James Harding's name in the many chatty letters written to that popular correspondent (and subsequent head of Balasor Factory), Richard Edwards, is significant. Neither is there a single letter extant by Harding himself, beyond his statements to the Councils of Bengal and Madras. His career in India has been, perforce, pieced out from scattered references to his employment and standing, and from accounts of his misbeliefs and misdoings in the MSS. preserved at the India Office. These give a tolerable estimate of his character, and present him as a man always in opposition, both in religious and civil life, to accepted conditions. His adherence to the doctrines of the sectarian, Ludowicke Muggleton, may have been the cause of his unpopularity on his arrival in India, and attacks made on his religious beliefs probably rendered him more morose and less inclined to fraternize with those about him. The accusations levelled against him by Agent Hedges might be disregarded, since Hedges was in violent opposition to Job Charnock and aspersed all those whom Charnock supported. For the same reason, the allegations against Harding's moral character might be discounted, since they were made by those who were supporting and currying favour with Hedges. But that Charnock himself should weary of Harding's continued "troublesome miscarryages" is the best evidence of his "turbulent" and "litigious" nature. No matter where he was, or who was in office, he was evidently a man who would always be "agin' the government." No serious complaints were made as to his inefficiency, nor was he ever accused of trading privately to the Company's detriment. He simply seems to have had no capacity for living in friendship or for showing himself as friendly to any one.

James Harding's career in India extends from 1672 until 1688, and possibly later. He was elected a writer at £10 per annum on the 1st November 1671, on the recommendation of John Jolliffe and Benjamin Albyn, two members of the Court of Committees of the East India Company. His securities in the sum of £500 were Hercules Bridson of London, silk dyer, and Nicholas Harding of London.¹ The latter was probably either the father or some near relative of the young writer, but no confirmation of the fact is available. A search for the will of Nicholas Harding at Somerset House has proved unavailing, nor have any other particulars regarding James Harding's family been discovered.

Four factors and ten writers were "entertained" by the Court of Committees in November 1671 to serve their factories in Madras and Bengal. James Harding's name is

¹ *Court Minutes*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184, 187.

eighth on the list of writers, and he was "to be disposed of" as the Council at Fort St. George should "think fitt."² News had reached the Court of irregularities among their youthful servants, and they therefore wrote to the authorities at Fort St. George as follows:—

"Wee are informed that some of your youthes with you, upon pretence that they have not allowance of suppers and other Conveniences provided for them in the Fort, take liberty to goe to Punch Howses and other places, and spend their time therein deboiching themselves, which wee cannot allow off. Therefore wee require that a competent provision and accommodation be made for them within our Fort, and that you restrayne all persons from this practize, and take care good howers and orders [are kept]."

The Court also made a fresh regulation with regard to the munificent salaries paid to their writers.³—"And that all our writers under your Agency, whose sallaries are 10 li. per annum may be the better enabled to furnish themselves with Clothes and other Necessaries, Wee doe now order that their full sallaries be quarterly paid unto them, both of those already with you, with the Arrears of their said sallaries, And likewise to such as come in these ships."

The fleet sailing to India in 1671-1672 consisted of the *Berkeley Castle*, *Johanna*, *Loyall Subject*, *Rebecca* and *Anne*, and on these five ships the factors and writers were disposed. The *Anne* reached Fort St. George on the 13th June 1672,⁴ the other four vessels arriving ten days later, when the Company's new servants took up their duties.

There is no mention of Harding for two years. Then, in March 1674, the Court wrote,⁵ "Wee doe order that Mr. James Harding, now at the Fort St. George, who was bred a silkeman, be sent to Cassambazzar [Kasimbazar] to be employed about sorting our silk." It is probable that Hercules Bridson, silk dyer, mentioned as one of Harding's securities, was responsible for his training in the silk trade. Accordingly, immediately on receipt of the Company's orders, the Council at Fort St. George proceeded to carry them out. On the 28th September 1674 they wrote to Walter Clavell and Council at Balasor,⁶ announcing that James Harding should "in few daies" proceed to "Cassumbazar to be Employed in the Honble. Companies affaires." On his arrival at Balasor, Harding was therefore sent on to Kasimbazar in the "*Ganges*" and it was suggested to Matthias Vincent, then chief of that factory, that he should be employed "as an assistance to the warehousekeeper."⁷

For nearly three years from this date the Records are silent regarding Harding. He should have been out of his writership at the end of 1676, but in the settlement made by the Court of their servants in Bengal, on the 12th December 1677,⁸ his name appears as "17th in the Bay" and first of the three writers at Kasimbazar. Harding, who had arrived in India imbued with the teaching of the then notorious sectarian Muggleton, found ample time to absorb the doctrines of his spiritual leader, and to avow them openly in the little English community at Kasimbazar. But, however scandalized his superiors were, or affected to be, by his unorthodox opinions, they hesitated to bring a charge against him, unless assured of support from their employers. In 1677 this support was given

² Letter to Fort St. George of the 18th December 1671, *Letter Book*, Vol. IV, pp. 493 ff.

³ *Letter Book*, Vol. IV, p. 500.

⁴ O. C. (*Original Correspondence*), No. 3721.

⁵ *Letter Book*, Vol. IV, p. 500.

⁶ Letter to Fort St. George of the 13th March 1674, *Letter Book*, Vol. V, p. 98.

⁷ *Factory Records*, Hugli, Vol. IV.

⁸ Letter of 6th October 1674, *Factory Records*, Hugli, Vol. IV.

⁹ *Letter Book*, Vol. V, p. 500.

in a letter from the Court of the 16th December 1675, the 27th paragraph of which bestowed the following powers upon the Agent and Council at Fort St. George¹⁰ :—

"Though Wee have not thought fitt to Authorize Our Agent and counsell to putt any person out of Councell that Wee have appointed of the Councell, Yet in case any of our Councell should prove unfaithfull to Us, either in discovering of Our Affaires to Our Enemies, or otherwise conspire against Us to defraud or betray Us, or become guilty of any fact accounted criminall, as Murder, Theft, Rape, Blasphemy, or the Like, In such cases the matter plainly appearing to Our Agent and Councell, or the more part of them, they may and ought to suspend such person from the Councell, or put him in Prison according to the Nature of the Offence."

In 1677, the Council at Kasimbazar took advantage of this paragraph to call a consultation, on the 17th August,¹¹ when Matthias Vincent, Edward Littleton and Richard Edwards, "Well considering the 27th Paragraffe of the Honble. Companies Letter, it was resolved that a complaint should be made and charge drawne up and sent to the Cheife and Councell of the Bay against James Hardinge, a younge man in this Factory of very dangerous and horribly blasphemous principles, as denying the persons of the Father and the Spiritt in the Godhead, as alsoe the [im]mortallity of the Soule, and sundry other wicked tenets, which he had often vented here and endeavoured to draw others to, often declaring an implicite faith in and blind adherence to whatever hath been declared and owned by one Ludowycke Muggleton,¹² a notorious and abominable hereticke sprauge up in our dayes, as the record of our times and his owne bookes Sufficiently declare, and to desire and presse the removall hence and sendinge home the said James Hardinge, according to the orders of the Honble. Company in the aforesaid paragraffe of their letter, he beinge alsoe a person of very little use and Service in our Honble. Masters affaires, of whome we cannot give any of those commendable and required characters of "Dilligent, Faithfull and Able," but the Contrary. All which wee reffered to the Cheife to draw up and to insert such other particulars as might be necessary to make knowne unto the Chiefe and Councell."

Vincent's categorical complaint against Harding does not exist. Before it reached Balasor, and even before the holding of the Consultation noted above, Walter Clavell had fallen a victim to the epidemic which carried off nearly all the Company's servants there. Vincent was hurriedly summoned to take Clavell's place, and Littleton, who succeeded him at Kasimbazar, left Harding alone, until an act of direct disobedience caused a second complaint of his conduct to be sent to Balasor. The details are given in the Kasimbazar Diary of the 1st November 1677¹³ :—"There wanting a Copy of an Apendix to our Generall Books to bee transmitted to our Honble. Masters this year, James Harding was by Edward Littleton sent for, and beinge Come, the said apendix was tendred to him and

¹⁰ *Letter Book*, Vol. V. pp. 285-296.

¹¹ *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, Vol. I.

¹² Ludowycke Muggleton (1603-1698), an English sectarian, was the son of a farrier, but was bred up as a tailor. He began to have revelations in 1651, and proclaimed himself and his cousin as the two witnesses of revelation XI. 3. An exposition of their doctrines was published in 1656 under the title of *The Divine Looking-Glass*. In 1653 Muggleton was imprisoned for blasphemy. In 1657 he was tried and convicted for the same offence, and was fined £500. He escaped further imprisonment and lived to be nearly ninety. His collected works were published in 1756. The Muggletonions survived as a sect until about 1846. (See the art. in the *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed.).

¹³ *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, Vol. I.

he ordered to Copy the same, which after some shuffling, he peremptorily refused to doe. Whereupon Mr George Knipe beinge sent for and Come, the said James Harding was againe enordered to copy the same, but he continued obstinate, contumaciously refusinge to write any more for the Company. Thereupon, beinge withdrawne, it was considered of and agreed that, seeinge he had denyed his Service to the Honble. Company, he should not be paid any more dyett money, but beinge an Englishman, should have accomodation of roome, dyett, &c. in the Factory till further order from the Cheife and Councell for the Bay, it beinge concluded at same time to advise them of the stubborne Carriage of the said James Harding as above."

A letter was therefore written, on the same date, to Matthias Vincent at Hugli¹⁴ :—

"Wee have to advise you that havinge some writeinge worke of our Honoble. Masters affaires to be don and transmitted to them this yeare, wee did enorder James Harden to preforme the same, but after some shuffling and boggling, he obstinately and peremptorily refused it more then once in our presence this day. Wee are of opinion that, considering his capacity, he could scarce have Comitted an Act which could more have manifested his unfaithfullness and disobedience and refusall of a Continuance in, and rendered him more lyable to be discharged of, our Honoble. Masters Employment, it beinge not an act of Rashness or passion, but of serious deliberation (as much as he is Capable of), and which he yet Justifies and continues in. Beinge resolved to write noe more for the Honoble. Company, wee doe at present look upon him as a private Person, and therefore have enordered the disburser of our Factory charges not to pay him any more Diet mony, but shall permitt him, as an Englishman, Accomodation of roome &c. in the factory till your further orders, and hope for your Approvall."

In reply to this letter, Matthias Vincent wrote, on the 8th November 1677¹⁵ :—"Wee much admire at the Folle of James Harding, which Since, as you advise, persist[ed] in, and so is both useless to our Masters and also gives bad Examples to his fellow Servants there. Wee order you to send him hither by the next conveyance . . . You have done very well in not allowing Harding his dyett money, since, by denying of what hee is Capable of doing in our Masters busines, wee think hee hath mended [*sic* ? rendered] him selfe worthy of it."

Harding was acquainted with the orders concerning him on the 13th November,¹⁶ and on the 21st, the Kasimbazar Diary contains an entry¹⁷ that he "proceeded this eveninge towards Hugly by virtue of an order from the Cheife and Councell of the Bay for his Stubborne behavior in Contumaciously refusing to write for the Honble. Company." At the same time, Littleton and Knipe wrote to Vincent concerning Harding's disobedient carriage," and stated that they enclosed an "Account of his Demeanor,"¹⁸ which account, however, has not been preserved. The letter reached Hugli on the 26th November 1677. Matthias Vincent was then at Balasor, and Edward Reade was in charge of the factory. He and his colleagues decided to refer Harding's case to their superior. The entry in the Hugli Diary of the 26th November runs as follows¹⁹ :—"This day we haveing received an atestation from Cassumbazar Concerning James Hardings peremptory refusing to Copie out the Honoble. Companies Bookes or doeing what was ordered him by the Cheife there in the said service &c., as per said appeares, and their

¹⁴ *Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. VII.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. IV.*

¹⁷ *Factory Records, Kasimbazar, Vol. L.*

¹⁹ *Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. I.*

complaint of him some daies since received, he being sent for thence and arrived hither, to discourage others his fellow servants frome the like, forbad him the Honoble. Companies table and ordered him to be ready to proceed on one of the Honoble. Companies sloopes to Ballasore where he should be examined on these and other matters laid to his charge."

Accordingly, Harding was sent to Balasor, where, at a Consultation held on the 14th December 1677,²⁰ he was first examined regarding the accusations of blasphemy brought against him in the preceeding August. The Council consisted of Matthias Vincent, four factors, and three captains of Company's ships.

"James Harding haveing been accused of severall Blasphemous Tennets, of which attestations have been sent up to the Fort [Fort St. George, Madras], he was called before the Councell and examined before them concerning his present adherancy to the said Tennets, *Vizt.*

1. Being asked whither he beleived that when the body died the soule still lived in everlasting bliss or Missery, or whither he beleived it dyed with the body.

He answered that he was in doubts about it, but being further pressed to give his possitive answer, he replyed that he would give noe answer.

2. Being asked whither he beleived there were three persons of the holy Trenty.²¹ To which he refused to give an answer.

3. Being asked whither he had affirmed, as he is accused, that when our blessed Saviour was upon earth that there was noe God in heaven and that Moses and Elias were there.

To this also he refused to give an answer.

4. Being further asked whither he denied the truth of the Holy Scripture, and that they were much corrupted by passing through the hands of Papists, &ca., and that he affirmed that they were compiled by a few of unlarned and Ignorant Fishermen.

The which he denies.

This shewes that he can deny what he does not hold, and that the three first opinions, since he will give noe answer to them, are in effect held by him.

However, he, the said James Harding, haveing desired to give in his answer in a paper concerning the three aforesaid abominable Tennets, the Councell and Commanders though[t] fitt to give him 3 hours time to bring in said paper: which, if sattisfactory, wee should consider what Issue to put to this case, but if otherwise, we are all of opinion that he ought to be sent to Fort St. George there to answer it to the Worshipfull Agent and Councell."

At a second sitting of the Council at Balasor, on the afternoon of the same day, "James Harding brought in a paper to the Councell, which he pretended to be an answer to the accusations upon which he was examined in the morning, but upon perusall, both the Councell and Commanders were soe farr from thinkeing it an answer that they judge [it] to be raither a continuation of the obstinacy he expressed in the morning, wherefore they unanimously concluded that this paper and his accusation be sent with him to Fort St. George."

It is unfortunate that "this paper" is missing, and consequently no opinion can be formed of Harding's justification of his conduct. He was probably sent forthwith to Madras, for, in an abstract of a letter to the Company, from the Council at Fort

²⁰ *Factory Records, Hugli*, Vol. I.

²¹ Muggleton's *Divine Looking-Glass* taught that the distinction of the Three Persons of the Trinity is merely nominal.

St. George, dated 27th January 1678, is the remark,²² "James Hardin sent from the Bay for crimes, &c., and Valentine Nurse that came from thence are both at the Fort, concerning which they await the Company's orders."

Harding appears to have remained in an anomalous position throughout 1678, for in January 1679, although his name occurs as a writer in a list of the Company's Servants at Fort St. George,²³ he is placed last and no "degree" is assigned to him. On the 27th February 1679 he applied to be reinstated in Bengal or allowed to remain in India as a freeman. His request was taken into consideration on the 3rd March, Streynsham Master, Agent and Governor, presiding²⁴:—"Upon reading a Paper given in by James Harding the 27th February (which time did not permit to doe on that day) it was Resolved to give him for Answer that the Councell did not thinke fitt to settle him in Bengale, and therefore, according to his desire, they doe quitt him of the Honble. Company's service to remaine a freeman. As for the Arreares of his Sallary, and Rupees 61 : 13 Jan. he pretends to be stopt out of his dyett mony, when they are satisfied therein from the Chief and Councell in Bengale, they shall take further order about it."

Meanwhile, the Court had written,²⁵ "In yours of the 27th of January [1678], The first thing Wee meet with unanswered is your expectance of our directions concerning two disorderly persons, Nurse and Harding, which is That you send them home by this shipping, and for the future, never let any suspended Person remaine upon our charge after his suspension." The only comment on these orders is contained in the abstract of a letter from Fort St. George to the Company of the 27th January 1680, in which the Council remark, "Mr Nurse and Harding [are] in a poor condition, but not now at the Company's charge."²⁶ It is to be presumed that Harding remained at Fort St. George throughout 1680 and part of 1681, but there is no allusion to him, unless he is included in the remark in the Court's letter of the 5th January 1681,²⁷ "Wee shall allow nothing to Mr Nurse or any such disorderly persons, and wee expect your care to prevent their being in our Houses, or at our Tables, to be an ill example to others, or any charge to us."

Finding no prospect of employment in Madras, James Harding decided to return to Bengal. He apparently left Fort St. George without permission, and made his way to Hugli, and thence to Kasimbazar, whence he had been so summarily ejected in 1677. His arrival is noted on the 25th November 1681.²⁸ Job Charnock, who had succeeded to the chiefship of Kasimbazar, took Harding under his protection and gave him employment, but the ex-writer's contentious disposition soon again brought him into trouble. At a Consultation held on the 31st May 1682,²⁹ during a visit of inspection by Matthias Vincent, "James Harding, who absented himself on some occasions, being called and severely checked for his coming up without licence, as also fighting in the factory, and admonished to be [have] more quietly, Mr Charnock owning him as his particuler servant, was thought fitt to be lett remaine some time longer, on his good behaviour in this Factory."

²² *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3a.

²³ *Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LI, p. 105 (copies of Madras Records).

²⁴ *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George 1679-80*. (Printed copies of Madras Records), p. 20.

²⁵ General Letter to Fort St. George of the 3rd January 1679. *Letter Book*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

²⁶ *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3a.

²⁷ *Letter Book*, Vol. VI, p. 251.

²⁸ Kasimbazar Diary. *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, Vol. I.

²⁹ *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, Vol. II.

Before this report of Harding's misdoings reached the Court, they had written to Bengal, ordering that, if found deserving of their favour, he should be given another chance to serve the Company³⁰.—"If you find Mr James Harding (who hath for severall years pass'd been in our service) diligent, able and faithfull in our concerns, We would have you give him incouragement as he shall be found to deserve." This change in the Court's attitude towards Harding may be due to an appeal on his behalf from their valued and trusted servant, Job Charnock. But as all the time-servers then in Bengal were directly antagonistic to Charnock, anyone under his protection was sure to be singled out for attack, whether innocent or guilty. Agent William Hedges, who was appointed supervisor of affairs in Bengal in 1682, was especially inimical to Charnock. He was at Kasimbazar in October 1682³¹ and again in April 1683, when his Diary for the 17th of that month contains the following entry:—³² "Harding accused. Upon information given me by most of the factory that James Harding, now entertained by Mr Charnock as his servant, had formerly bin dismiss the Honble. Company's Service for Blasphemy and Athlisticall tenetts, and that he was a person notoriously scandalous both in life and conversation (George Pitman, a Throwster, offering to depose that he saw said Harding lye with Mr Elliotts woman slave), I ordred him not to eat at the Company's table, and reproved Mr Charnock for entertaining so vitious a person; to which he gave me the hearing with little or no reply, resolving, I suppose, to satisfie me for the present, and admitt him again as soon as I leave the factory."

Three days later a petition against Harding was presented to the Agent.³³ This was signed by all those who were in opposition to Charnock.

"This day [20th April 1683] was presented a Petition of Allen Catchpoole, John Threder, Samuell Langley, George Pitman and George Stone, complaining of one James Harding, a most Turbulent, violent-spirited fellow, in the following words, *vizi*.

"Sheweth That in the factory of Cassumbuzar there is one James Harding, a person who was formerly dismiss the Honble. Company's service for Blasphemy and Athlisticall tenetts, and since he hath been here, hath evidenced himself to be a person of a most unquiett turbulent Spiritt, having all along bin a great disturber of the peace and quiet of this factory, and hath often bred differences amongst us; and for the future we can hope no better from a Person of his irreligious and scandalous principles, he having lately bin taken in fornication with a slave wench of John Elliotts, as is attested and ready to be deposed on oath by George Pitman, one of your petitioners, and divers other misdemeanors the said James Harding hath committed. We do therefore humbly request your Worship &c. to take the premises into consideration, and ease us of this inconvenience: and that this our Petition may be entred into your Dyary. And your Petitioners shall pray &c."

21st April 1683. "Mr Catchpoole's &c. Petition was taken into consideration, and after full examination, and hearing all parties, James Harding was found guilty of all that was alledged in the Petition, and ordred forthwith to be dismiss the Honble. Company's Factory, but intercession being made by Mr Charnock for his continuance with him some time, to help him draw out and transcribe his Account, liberty was given him the said Harding to remain in the Factory till the 28th instant."³⁴

³⁰ Letter to "The Bay" of 27th October 1682, *Letter Book*, Vol. VII, p. 103.

³¹ Diary of William Hedges, *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. XV, p. 27a.

³² *Ibid*, p. 55.

³³ *Ibid*, pp. 56-57.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 57.

Accordingly, Harding left Kasimbazar on or about the time prescribed, and in July 1683 was at Hugli, when Hedges did not scruple to use him as a tool whereby to gain information to be used to Charnock's disadvantage. "I had some discourse," he writes on the 28th July, with Mr James Harding, who being in hopes of [re]admission into the Company's Service, confest to me very freely that all the Accusations laid against Mr Thredder, concerning the great gains and advantage he makes by overweight of Silke was certainly true, and often complain'd of by the Merchants to Mr Charnock, who alwayes past it by, and took no notice of it.

"Mr Harding farther informed me that the relation given me at Cassumbuzar of the 5 bales of Silke, proffered to be sould to the Company (which was produced, of over weight of silke gain'd from the Merchants) was certainly true, and complain'd of to Mr Charnock, who at first seem'd concern'd, but soon past it over. That he was not so confident and well assured of Mr Barker's infidelity as he was of Mr Threder's, but this much he knew, that all the business of the Warehouse was done and performed by Mr Barker, and that he had heard there was a certain agreement between Threder and Barker, the latter being to receive a certain summe in lieu of all profits, and was confident Barker was no such fool as to hold his tongue without considerable advantage.

"Continuing my discourse with the said Mr Harding, I desired to know the reason why Mr Charnock was so cross to me, and thwarting every thing I propos'd or did for the Company's service, who replied Mr Charnock had no other reason for his so doing but that he looked upon himselfe as disoblig'd by you at your first arrivall, for not turning out Mr Catchpoole at his request, and was thereupon resolv'd to blast and to frustrate all your actions and proceedings as much as he could, and never to Councell or assist you more in any thing as long as he lived.³⁵

That Harding could stoop to turn on his former protector and so basely repay his kindness, shows him to have been unworthy of any support and to have richly deserved the ultimate fate that befell him. However, he reaped no benefit from his attempt to make friends with his patron's opponents. On the 8th October 1683, at a Consultation held at Hugli, William Hedges presiding, his request for reinstatement was negatived.³⁶

"Mr James Harding having severall times petition'd that he might againe be entertained in the Honble. Companys service, according to their order in the Generall Letter of the 27th of October 1682,³⁷ wherein they say, if he be found diligent, able and faithfull, he may have such preferment as we thinke he may deserve, 'twas this day taken into consideration, and I having declared that the said Mr Harding had tolld me . . . that Mr Threder had much wrong'd the Company in his charge of Warehousekeeper at Cassumbuzar, and afterwards refused to testifie the same when demanded of him at Cassumbuzar and the business of Mr Threder upon examination, the question being putt whether the said Mr Harding should be received into the Companys Service, 'twas carried in the negative."

Having failed in his object, Harding had the effrontery to return to his quondam supporter, greatly to the wrath of Hedges, who writes, under date the 27th October 1683, "The last night Mr James Watson desired a Dustick [*dastak*, pass] of me for a Budgera [*bajrâ*, barge] with some Persian fruit to Cassumbuzar. When the boat was putting off, Mr Watson orderd the chiefe Boatman or manglee [*mānjhi*] to take in Mr Harding and

³⁵ Diary of William Hedges, *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, Vol. XV, pp. 71-72.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 90-91.

³⁷ See ante. p. 63.

carry him to Cassumbazar. The manglee refusing to do it without my order, Mr Watson struck him twice, and forced him to take him in. Thus, by the Countenance and sinister practices of Mr Beard is the Companys Honour and my Authority slighted and contemnd; otherwise they would as soon eat fire as attempt to do it, would he stand by me and not argue and dispute my Authority, and as much as in him lyes render it contemptible. This scandalous unfaithfull Person Harding is now sent up to serve Mr Charnock, in dispiht of me, though God be praised, I live in honour and esteem, whilst Charnock, Harvy and Beard are the most despicable Persons to the Government and Native merchants that ever Lived in the Countrey."³⁸

There is no means of ascertaining the reasons which led Charnock to take back Harding and eventually to get him reinstated in the Company's service. It is probable that the pleasure of thwarting Hedges and the want of skilled help at Kasimbazar were both factors in the case. At any rate, on the 19th September 1684, Harding was re-entertained, this time with the standing of senior merchant, and apparently by the authority, and with the consent, of the then Agent John Beard, who had succeeded the now disgraced Hedges. In November, Harding was acting as "provisionall second,"³⁹ i. e., as Accountant, at Kasimbazar. At that time, the Council at Hugli wrote to Charnock,⁴⁰ "Wee greatly want your books ending Aprill 1684. Wee have heard they were some months behind at Mr Barkers death, occationed by Mr Cudworths long sickness and debase, but hope there hath been such diligence applyed to them by Mr Harding that by this time he hath brought them up, it being near a month since he hath had them in hand."

The year 1685 passed quietly as far as Harding was concerned, or, if not, no reference to his quarrels found their way into the Consultation Book of the factory. He had not, however, become any more obliging or anxious to please his employers, for in May of that year, on being urged to make up the accounts expeditiously, he declined to exert himself unduly⁴¹:—"Mr James Harding being pressed to a speedy Conclusion of making up the Accounts of this Factory, and to resolve when he might be able to doe them, gave this Answer, *Viz*: that he thought he might be able to doe them in 4 or 5 months time, but could not be possitive, by reason of the dayly impediments he meett[s] withall, as for want of a Peon to sit upon the door to call the Writers, as allsoe from the Rainy weather and mighty tempests which dayly happen, whereby he saith he is often forced to leave of writing, all which have, he saith, and will, mightly hinder him, especially the latter of this season, the rayny time being now coming in."

The only other mention of Harding in 1685 is in connection with his examination of the accounts of John Threader,⁴² who was proved to have "wronged" the Company while he was warehousekeeper at Kasimbazar. Threader's dismissal and the death of his successor left the accounts in "great confusion." These were set right by Harding, who appears to have been a good and capable worker when he chose. He continued to hold his post at Kasimbazar after Charnock's departure in 1686, and he even had charge of the factory for a few months.⁴³ At the end of the year his downfall came. The Court of Committees had now had time to receive and peruse the various charges against him, and on the 14th January 1686, they wrote as follows to Fort St. George⁴⁴:—"We find by

³⁸ Diary of William Hedges, *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. XV, pp. 97-98.

³⁹ *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 3a.

⁴⁰ Letter of 4th Nov. 1684, *Factory Records, Hugli*, Vol. VI.

⁴¹ *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, Vol. IV, p. 102.

⁴² *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. IV, pp. 43, 70, 121.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 148, 149.

⁴⁴ *Letter Book*, Vol. VIII, p. 47.

severall Consultation bookes remaining with us that Mr James Harding, who is now employed in our factory at Cassumbuzar, hath for ten years past been under a very ill Character. We desire therefore that you cause examination to be had concerning him, and if you shall find it true, we would have him dismissed Our Service."

Whether Charnock, who had succeeded as Agent in Bengal, took action in consequence of these directions, or on account of the "Complaint" of the "whole factory" at Kasimbazar on the 12th August, is uncertain, but in December he wrote to Madras,⁴⁵ announcing Harding's dismissal from the Company's service and his expulsion from Bengal.

On his arrival at Fort St. George, whither he was sent to be examined, Harding at once applied for arrears of salary, and the matter was debated in Consultation, on the 27th January 1687, by President William Gyfford and Council.⁴⁶—"Mr James Harding having desired us to take into consideration his Sallary Since the time the President and Council in the Bay reentertain'd him in the Right Honble. Companys Service, which was the 19th of September 1684, to the 27th August last, when the Agent and Council had dismiss him, as per their Letter of the 15th of last month, referring him to us, and paid him Two Hundred Rupees for his late Service at Cassimbuzar, and wee finding him to bee of Senior Merchants degree all that time, It is order'd that he be paid after the rate of Forty pounds per annum, deducting what he has already received, and likewise to peruse their Diary, when it comes, to know the cause of his dismissal, they having said nothing about it in their said Letter, and then to consider what to doe with him; but at present to remaine as he is."

In their letter to the Company of the 7th February, the Fort St. George Council reported the dismissal of Harding and their intention to "examine his complaints⁴⁷." On the 14th March, they wrote to Job Charnock⁴⁸—"Mr. Harding, we have paid him his sallary at £40 per annum . . . deducting the 200 rs. you paid him for his service at Cassambuzar, but he says there is still something due to him on that account of the usuall account [sic] of servants wages. If it be soe, pray advise us, and what it is, and he shall receive it here."

The papers containing the charge against Harding are not extant, but their contents can be gathered from the Consultation which took place at Fort St. George after their receipt, on the 12th September 1687, from Bengal.⁴⁹

"Mr James Harding arriving here the 17th of January past from Bengall, under the Agent and Councils suspension, 'twas sometime after taken into Consideration by the late President and Council and then concluded, as per their Consultation of the 27th of January last, that the suspension should continue, till such time as they could bee rightly informed of the charge against him, which arriving but lately, wee have perused, and find that during his whole continuance in the Bay, he has deported himself very disrespectfully to his superiors, and litigiously to his equalls, and imperiously to his inferiors, as by their complaint at Cassambuzar of the whole Factory of 27th August 1686. Notwithstanding which, in consideration of his poverty and long standing in India, wee have offered to readmit him into the Right Honble. Companies Service and give him such employment as should be suitable [to] his station and capacity, all which he rejected, and would bring us to his capitulation and tearmes, as also that we must engage and secure him from the Right Honble. Companies future displeasure for his former troublesome miscarryages, or to permit him to go home for England, the first of which

⁴⁵ Letter of 15th December 1685, *Madras Press List*.

⁴⁶ *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. IV, p. 204.

⁴⁷ *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 34.

⁴⁸ *Factory Records, Hugli*, Vol. XI.

⁴⁹ *Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LIV, pp. 229-130, (copies of Madras Records).

being out of our power, we could not deny him the latter, and the Secretary is order'd to give Captain Robert Strangrome, Commander of the *Loyall Adventure*, an order to receive him as a Passenger for England, on the Right Honble. Companies account with his necessities."

Harding, however, did not avail himself of the permission to proceed to England, but remained in Madras to give more trouble, and he was therefore still in India when further instructions regarding him from the Court of Committees reached Madras. The "complaint" against him at Kasimbazar in the previous August seems to have been caused by a "paper" which he issued, attacking Job Charnock and others in authority in Bengal. On receipt of the various Diaries and Proceedings for the year 1686, the Court wrote to Fort St. George:—⁵⁰ "Mr Hardings vile Paper delivered you, containing such base Reflections on our most worthy Generall, was so unfitt for you to receive, that it was a sufficient matter of it self for you to ground an accusation of him as guilty of a high misdemeanor, for which he ought to have been roundly fined to the Company, and detained in prison untill he had paid it; and till you can come to this method of proceedings against insolent men. We never expect any good government among you. Our hopes are Sir John Biggs will bring your Law Courts, and especially our Court of Admiralty, into such a good order⁵¹ that there shall be more decorum and duty paid to Superiours by Inferiours, or immediate punishment inflicted by fine or otherwise, upon the Place, as there is at Batavia, and that you will trouble us no more with such kind of Delinquents, otherwise then with the Relation of the punishment you have inflicted and the cause that moved you thereto."

Before the ship bearing this letter was out of home waters, Harding had reiterated his accusations against Charnock and had been called to account at a Consultation, on the 6th October 1687.⁵²

"Mr James Harding having given in a paper to the President and Councill, being called to examination thereupon, he was commanded what he had to offer in the Right Honble. Companies behalf, and who those persons were he reflects upon in his said paper that had disserved the Right Honble. Company, which he desired he might have time to declare in writing, which was granted him, and promised to be brought in next Consultation day. He was also desired to acquaint the Councill if he had anything to offer to the disadvantage of the Right Honble. Companies affairs, or could discover any wrong done them, and we would enquire into itt and doe them right therein, tho' Mr Harding seems unworthly to question itt, and causelessly to reflect upon us; but detraction and turbulency are his Province, agreeing with no man, nor ever contented in any station or condition, and wee doubt never will, having had the offer of severall good employments from us, with much friendly good advices, which was chiefly from the consideration of his long service and poverty. But nothing will take impression upon him but his wilful humor."

Copy of Mr Hardings paper.

To the Honble. Elihu Yale, President and Governour of the Coast of Choromandell, Bay of Bengall and Sumatra, &ea Councill.

The 29th Ultimo, in a Petition, I desired to be secured from the detriment and Forgeries hatched against me by certain malicious persons in Bengall, who are notoriously guilty of high misdemeanors, especially the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Agent. If I cannot be heard in the Right Honble. Companies behalf, nor in my own, it is for no

⁵⁰ Letter dated 28th September 1687, *Letter Book*, Vol. VIII, p. 414.

⁵¹ The "Companies Commission to Sir John Biggs to be Judge of the Courts of Judicature at Fort St. George" was dated 22nd October 1686. *Letter Book*, Vol. VIII, pp. 231-232.

⁵² *Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LIV, pp. 238-239 (copies of the Diary and Consultation Books of Fort St. George, wanting among the India Office Records).

purpose to stay longer here, thereby to suffer any ways the loss of my right, as heretofore in Mr Vincents and Mr. Littletons time, by their ill tricks. Should itt not be your Honor &ca pleasure firmly to settle me, according to my request in the forementioned paper, I am compelled, through discouragements and matters of very great import to the Honble. Company to go home upon the *Loyall Adventure*, desiring copy of the Consultation and what elce here on Register that relates to mee. The oppressions and Tyrannies over me in India have been so many that I cannot [pay] for so long a Voyage as I am inclined. I entreat your Honor &ca upon this weighty occation, which so much concernes the Right Honble. Companies interest, therefore to pay me my Sallary and Chamber rent. I never doubted the first, because it was absolutely promised me, with other encouragements, till further orders from England about mee, and that your Honor &ca also please to put in such provisions aboard as in such cases some others has had, that I may not be subject to the abuses of any belonging to the ship I embarque on, nor want necessary refreshment at Sea. If the Right Honble. Company disapproved of these disbursements (as I know they will not) on my account, I will oblige myself to have itt deducted out of my arrears, which is considerable, all which I leave to your speedy consideration and determination, remaining, Honble. Sir &ca &ca, Your most humble Servant, JAMES HARDING. *Madras, 6th October 1687.*

The explanation, promised by Harding to be produced "next Consultation day" does not appear, nor did he sail for England that year. He is next heard of in August 1688, when he petitioned the Fort St. George Council to be allowed to go home in the *Bengall Merchant*, and "'twas granted him, provided he pay 26 Pagodas according to the Right Honble. Companys possitive orders."⁵³ After this date Harding's name disappears from the Company's Records until December 1691, when at a Consultation held at Fort St. George, there is a note of the readmission of a "James Harding" into the Company's service.⁵⁴ As the only other Harding, who has been traced among the Company's servants in the period 1670 to 1690, is a sea Captain, the remark presumably applies to the dismissed "senior merchant," but as there are no copies of Consultations for the year 1691 at the India Office, details regarding the entry are unobtainable. Neither does Harding's name occur in any later Consultations noted in the *Madras Press List*. If he returned to England in the *Bengall Merchant* in 1688, it seems strange that there is no mention either of any enquiry into his conduct, or remark as to his reinstatement, or petition on his part for redress of grievances. It seems more probable that he remained in India and died immediately after his readmission to the Company's service. Neither his will nor any allusion to his concerns has been discovered, and his end therefore, is as unsatisfactory to his biographer as his personality must have been to those compelled to share his company.

To chronicle a career like Harding's may seem an unnecessary waste of time. But there is ample justification for perpetuating his memory and that of other unimportant subordinate servants of the East India Company in the seventeenth century. The vicissitudes of such subordinates form intensely human documents, and give an accurate picture of English society in India in those days. The details unearthed in the course of tracing the life of any one individual, though often uninteresting and irritatingly prolix, yet throw considerable light on the Companys system of government and on their methods of dealing with their officials. And, as regards the "Worthy" whose inglorious actions have just been reviewed, so little has hitherto been printed regarding the "Bay" factories of 1670 to 1700 that any additional matter extracted from original sources should be of value to the student of the history of the English in Bengal.

⁵³ *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, Vol. V, p. 174.

⁵⁴ *Madras Press List*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 56.)

The Mistakes of Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.—Contd.

Mr. Nelson says that, besides the land tax or rent proper, the Ryots had to pay a plough tax (*érvinei*), a ferry duty on the occasion of crossing rivers, a police tax for the maintenance of security and free service to the king on the occasions of building temples or constructing and repairing public utilitarian works, and so on. It is difficult to say whether these impositions were, as Nelson says, on agriculturists alone. It is not improbable that most of them were non-agricultural, and that such of them as were agricultural were included in the 50 per cent assessment.

Professional taxes.

Regarding the other taxes it only needs to be mentioned that they can be divided into classes,—namely taxes on various professions and incomes, octroi duties and customs, and pearl fisheries. The professional tax was singularly elaborate and inquisitorial. It evidently reached every class of the population and every art of life. The weaver had to pay a small tax on each loom,⁸² the merchant had to pay a certain proportion of his profits and the keeper of⁸³ a mill of his earnings; goldsmiths⁸⁴ and masons, barbers and labourers of all sorts had their share. The all-pervading nature of the taxation can be realised from the fact that the washerman⁸⁵ had to pay something for the use of the stones on which he washed his clothes in tanks and rivers. To use the eloquent language of Nelson,⁸⁷ "every weaver's loom paid so much per annum; and every iron-smelter's furnace; every oil-mill; every retail shop; every house occupied by an artificer; and every indigo vat. Every collector of wild honey was taxed; every maker and seller of clarified butter; every owner of carriage bullocks. Even stones in the beds of rivers used by washermen to beat clothes on, paid a small tax." The contributions⁸⁸ made by the merchants (*iēttis*), the weavers (*kaikkōlars*), the shopkeepers (*vāṇigars*), the oil-Vāṇigars and other classes who formed "the eighteen communities" were called *paṭṭaḷai-āyam*, *paṭṭaḷai-nūḷayam*, *māḍaviraṭṭi*, *ṣammādam*, *ṣekku*, *āṭṭai-ṣammādam*, *pēṛāya-chchemmādam*, *kaiyēṛpu*, *daṇṇāyakkar-magamai*, etc. The total amount of these imposts is not exactly known; but from an inscription⁸⁹ of early 15th century which fixes their contributions to a temple in place of the state, we have reasons to believe that they amounted to two *paṇams* per year on each individual and two *paṇams* on each loom. Mr. Krishna Sastri surmises that this amount "apparently covered all the taxes payable⁹⁰ by them." Another inscription of the same year and place, however, tells us that the *sthānattār* (managers) of the temple remitted, after a consultation with the revenue authorities, the sum of 6 *paṇams*, which they used to take in excess from the *kaikkōlars* as *vāḷal-paṇam*, "but⁹¹ collected, as before,

⁸² *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1908-9, p. 115; *Ibid* 1911, p. 83; *Mys. Gazr.*, I, p. 584.

⁸³ *S. Ind. Inscns.*, I, pt. I, p. 82.

⁸⁴ Sometimes these were specially exempted. In the time of Sadāśiva Rāya the barbers throughout the Empire were relieved from the necessity to pay tax.

⁸⁵ *S. Ind. Inscns.*, I, pt. I, p. 82; *Mys. Gazr.*, I, p. 584.

⁸⁶ *Madura Manual*; *Mys. Gazr.*, I, 584-585; *Madura Gazr.*, 178-81.

⁸⁷ See *Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 83. (Inscn. 221 of 1910). For an interesting reference to the tax on oil mill in Chōla times, see *Ibid*, 1910, p. 74.

⁸⁸ Inscn. 293 of 1910. See *Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 83. The inscription belongs to the reign of Bukka II. and dated S. 1326.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 83.

⁹⁰ Inscn. 294 of 1910. *Ibid*, p. 83. An inscription of Prince Pottappiyarāyar about the middle of the 13th century A. D. (No. 300 of 1909) mentions the following assessments. Six *paṇams* for one year on each shop-keeper, on each loom of the *kaikkōlar*, on each loom of the *ṣṭliyar*, and on each oil-monger. See *Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 98.

3 *paṇams* from each family of 3 Kachehava-ja-Vāṇiyar, 3 *paṇams* from each family of 3 Sivan-paḍavar (Sembadavar), 40 *paṇams* on cloths and 4 towards *kāṭṭigai-kāṇikkai*." The *idaṅgai* and *valaṅgai varis* were paid by the people of the *idaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* castes;⁹² the *nāḍutalavārikkai*⁹³ or police rate by all communities; the *ṣeṭṭiyār-magamai* by the voluntary gift of the *Ṣeṭṭis*; the *allāyamānyam* and *uḷi-kāṣu* on each shop opened in markets. The purchase and sale of cattle,⁹⁴ the manufacture of salt, the catching and sale of fish in tanks and rivers, the cutting of fuel in forests,—all these were subject to taxation. Even marriage was a source of income. Every labourer,⁹⁵ again, was bound to serve the king freely for a period in the year. That the king attached a good deal of importance to free service (*vetti-vari*) is clear from an inscription of the 15th century at Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷli, which says that the king gave away to the temple of that place "about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the palace at that period," except the *vettivari*. Nor is this surprising in an age when the construction of public works was a criterion of royal greatness and popular prosperity, and when there was a mania for such works among kings and governors, among Polygars and even petty chiefs.

The Octroi duties and customs.

The octroi duties and customs were evidently levied at fixed places and at fixed rates on all merchandise and provisions. The rates must have varied with variations of weight, of commodities and of the distance traversed. From stray and incidental notices in the chronicles we find, as Nelson did, that the usual octroi duty on paddy was one *ṣaṇam* on every eight *podis* or bags. In modern phraseology, he says, it is equal to a duty of 2½ pence on every 400 lbs. Here Nelson is quite correct in taking the *ṣaṇam* to be the small silver coin of that name; but it is difficult to see how he arrived at the value 2½*d*. As 16 *ṣaṇams*⁹⁶ were equal to a pagoda, the *ṣaṇam* must have been equal to between 3½ and 4 pence. Mr. Nelson evidently depended on some local variation. According to Wilks the customs duties in Mysore⁹⁷ were of three kinds,—the *sthalādāya* or those levied on goods imported to be sold at one place; the *mārgādāya* or duties on goods in transit; and *māmūlādāya* or duties exported to foreign countries. "All kinds of goods, even firewood and straw, paid these duties, excepting glass rings, brass pots and soap-balls." The same system should have prevailed in Madura. It is not improbable that the *māmūlādāya* of Madura⁹⁸ included sea-customs also; but we can well believe with Nelson that the customs were chiefly land customs. The sea was entirely under the control of the Portuguese and though they were bound to pay certain duties at⁹⁹ Tuticorin and elsewhere, the income that the State could have derived from them was perhaps small and precarious.

The Pearl Fisheries.

The pearl fisheries, which were an object of greedy competition especially among foreign exploiters, at first the Portuguese and then the¹⁰⁰ Dutch, and were extensively car-

⁹² See *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1913, p. 130; *Ibid*, 1911, p. 83; Insen, 215 of 1910 says that the *Pajjis* and the *Vaṇṇiyars* who evidently claimed to collect the taxes from them belonged to the *Idaṅgais*.

⁹³ *Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 84.

⁹⁴ Wilks' *Mysore*. The description of the Vijayanagar taxation in Mysore can be taken to completely apply to Madura also.

⁹⁵ *Ep. Rep.* 1913, p. 130.

⁹⁶ See note 78.

⁹⁷ *Mysore Gazr. I.*

⁹⁸ For an exceedingly interesting regulation regarding marine mercantile enterprise by King Gaṇapati Dēva of Warangal in the 13th century see *Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 107. It is not improbable that similar policy guided other powers in later times; but no definite and dogmatic statement is possible.

⁹⁹ See *Manual of S. Canara*, p. 68-9. The Portuguese made themselves masters of the whole trade of the West coast and exacted tribute from all the coast ports. Rāma Rāya found their assistance so valuable that in 1547 he executed a treaty with them under which the whole of the export and import trade of the country was placed in the hands of the Portuguese factors.

¹⁰⁰ For an excellent historical summary of the Portuguese and Dutch trade, see Mr. J. Hornell's *Sacred Chank of India*, 4-5.

ried from Cape Comerin to the Pamban, were naturally a lucrative source of revenue. The conch shells also which were abundant in the coast were held as the royal monopoly; and as they were highly valued in Bengal and elsewhere for ornamental purposes, they were largely exported, the Karta gaining high profits out of the transaction. It is difficult to estimate the real amount which these taxes brought to the treasury, but Nelson roughly estimates it at a little more than one-eighth of the land revenue and one-ninth of the total income of the State,—at about £131,000. It is a plausible conclusion, when we remember that the taxes, other than agricultural, which the people had to pay, were more numerous than lucrative, and thus erred against a fundamental canon of taxation.

The smallness of Nāik expenditure when compared with the income.—Its causes.

Passing on to the department of expenditure, we have first to note, with Nelson,¹ that it was very small when compared with the income. The reasons for this were manifold. First the Nāik military expenditure was highly economical. There was indeed a standing army at his disposal, and there was also, throughout the kingdom, a chain of castles and fortresses, a number of military stations which had to be garrisoned with men, horses and elephants; but the standing army was *small* as there was no necessity, on account of the military obligations of the provincial rulers, Polygars and vassal chiefs, for the maintenance of a large army in the capital; and *inexpensive*, because the army consisted not of professional soldiers, but of agriculturists who had to give up the plough in favour of the sword in time of war; and who were paid not in money but in lands, which were probably exempt from taxation,—an arrangement always economical to the State. When emergencies arose the Daḷavāi used to issue orders to the rulers of provinces and Polygars to gather an army. These communicated the mandate to the headmen of villages and towns,² and almost every able-bodied man was enlisted for service. In this way an adequate but inexpensive army was mobilized at a short notice. Another cause of the inexpensive nature of the military department was the absence of a navy in the Nāik kingdom. It is true that the Vijayanagar emperors and their governors had the title of *Lords of the Three Oceans*, and it is true that the necessity to defend an extensive coast and frequent engagements with Ceylon, seem to favour the idea of the maintenance of a navy; but no definite statement to that effect is found anywhere. The want of a navy seems to have been a real weakness, and mainly responsible for the growing ascendancy of the European nations which were taking, at this time, a new interest in India and Indian affairs.

There were other circumstances which contributed to the great disproportion between revenue and expenditure. The administrative system was, as has been already said, in one sense very primitive and too ill-organized to be expensive. There was, as Nelson says, no paid civil service, no educational policy, no police organization, no judicial machinery of an elaborate nature. The royal treasury, in other words, had no necessity to spend much in the way of salaries to officials. There was in fact no salaried hierarchy of officials as in the present day. Each departmental head, each provincial chief, each person in authority appointed his own men and was thus individually responsible for the conduct of affairs; and the men so appointed were in a large number of cases paid in lands and not money. Educational policy was similarly conspicuous by its absence.

¹ The *Madura Country*.

² See *Buchanan*, II. p. 37 for a description of the relation between the Polygars and the ordinary soldiers.

The primitive and inexpensive nature of the administration.

A state policy of education is an entirely new idea in India, a product of the western system of administration and ideals of government. In the middle ages it was a purely private concern. It was moreover a luxury, more an accomplishment than a necessity. We can well believe that *pīal* schools gave elementary education in every village to children of all castes, but this was due to the intellectual enterprise of individual men and not to state support. Even the little education that was thus prevalent was a Brahman tradition, a Brahman monopoly. With characteristic acuteness *he* made the best of what he could get and availed himself of the magnificent endowments made by the Karta to temples and *Maṭṭs*, to *agrahārams* and charity-houses. Here he obtained free board and lodging, and free from the cares of livelihood, devoted himself to intellectual pursuits. Every temple or *Maṭṭ* became a stronghold of learning, and the sonorous chant of the *Védās* incessantly filled the atmosphere. The Jesuit authorities¹ describe an institution subsidised liberally by the State in Madura, where thousands, boys as well as adults, received education, besides free board and lodging, and distinguished themselves as students of the many-sided culture of India. The history of the Nāik dynasty, in fact, is the history of Brahman ascendancy. The royal assembly witnessed frequent controversies on religious and literary questions, and arguments and counter-arguments mixed in incongruous jumble with the flattery of courtiers and the bustle of the *Darbār*. The only educated class in the kingdom, the Brahmans naturally became the advisers of the crown, the officers of State and leaders of the people. They were ministers, accountants, *rāyasams* and even military leaders. They were supreme in secular and religious affairs. They were the spiritual guides of the king, the managers of temples, the directors of the king's charities, the organizers of temple festivities, and the moral guardians of the people. And on the whole they justified, to a marvellous degree, the responsible trust placed in them, the confidence of the Karta and the respect of the people. They faithfully represented the public opinion of the country, and served as excellent mediators between the crown and the populace. And all this was due to the absence of a State policy of education and of the singular facility of the Brahman for obtaining it. The police organization was equally limited and inexpensive. The villages and towns had their own police officers. The Karta's *kāval* or police function was confined to the maintenance of public roads in safety and the keeping of peace between different villages. He generally entrusted these to the Polygars, and they received the *kāval* rights for their police duties, a plan which was both economical and wise. There were indeed times when the Polygars were inefficient in the discharge of their *kāval* duties and when, therefore, travelling was unsafe, trade precarious, and security of life and property uncertain; but the arrangement made by Viśvanātha was the best under the circumstances; and if under later rulers the Polygars were at times remiss, it was due to the incompetence of the former and not to the want of wisdom on the part of the founder of the dynasty. As regards justice it has been already pointed out that every community had its own caste heads, who meted out justice to those in dispute in regard to social and religious matters. In the *pālayams* the Polygars presided over the administration of the justice, both civil and criminal, and heard appeals from the decisions, village Panchāyats, and in the Karta's lands the local officers did so. As there were no special law courts and as the institution of suits was often of no use to the litigants, most cases were decided by the system of arbitration, intervention by friends, the appeal to divine

¹ Robert de Nobili, writing in 1610. See *Madura Garr.*, p. 175 and Nelson's *Madura Manual*.

intervention by the swearing of a party to the truth of his case before some *Karuppa* or other deity, and lastly the appeal, to the ordeals of fire, of oil and of water. The Karta, it is true sat as a judge himself to hear complaints, and decided them with the aid of Brahman assessors and caste customs; but the difficulty of the poor people to approach him and to give the preliminary presents usual on occasions of royal audience made the king's judicial *Darbâr* more an ornament than a useful institution, so far as the common people were concerned.

The chief items of public expenditure.

It will be asked what the items of the Karta's expenditure were, if the revenue was not expended to a large extent in matters of administration. The most important item was, of course, the maintenance of the Karta's standing army, which was more or less a safeguard against Polygar disaffection or sudden political convulsion. In Vijayanagar, says Nuniz,⁴ nearly half of the net imperial revenues was spent in this way; but we have no authority to tell us what the proportion was in Madura. A considerable proportion of the revenue was spent in the personal pleasures of the sovereign. The "*Karnâṭaka Karta*" was as much an epicurean as any other mediæval Hindu king, as much the slave of pleasure as the master of his kingdom. Thousands of *varâhas* were spent every month on his dresses and food, thousands on his amusements, and thousands on his women. The harem was a gigantic institution, containing hundreds of women and absorbing a large part of the revenue. In the king's palace, wine flowed freely, flatterers flourished, and goldsmiths were ever busy making jewels for the ladies. We do not know anything about Viśvanâtha's personal tastes in these matters; but an equally famous ruler as he, the renowned Tirumal Nâik, was a special sinner in this respect. The scandal of the day, as we shall see later on, accused him of every form of indulgence. His life-long love of pleasure stimulated extravagance, and we may well believe that every other Karta distinguished himself in a similar, though less conspicuous, manner. It was a defect of the age, not of individual men. An even more important item of expenditure was the department of public works. Buildings, secular and religious, and utilitarian works like tanks and reservoirs, canals and choultries, were favourite channels of the Karta's generosity; and the works they have turned out in this respect, will always entitle them to the eternal remembrance of posterity. Everywhere throughout the peninsula, south of the Kâvêri, there is, at every step, some monument or other, to tell us of the piety or the generosity of a Karta,—a tank or a dam, a sluice or a canal, a charity-house or a temple, a pleasure-bower or an avenue. Pleasure and piety were, in short, the two things that, more than any thing else, characterised them; and both these resulted in the mania for buildings and utilitarian works, which, though in some cases unproductive and scarcely beneficial, were as a rule highly conducive to the welfare of the people, while they did a priceless service to the art and culture of the country. Architecture and sculpture, painting and music, jewellery and ornaments, metallurgy and other arts underwent prosperous developments. Literature thrived, and scholars found welcome in courts, local and central. It was, in short, an age of culture. Herein lay the justification of the dynasty, and the justification of the administrative system perfected by Viśvanâtha and his able minister.

⁴ See *Fory. Empe.*, p. 375, but of the 60 lakhs of revenue the emperor "does not enjoy a larger sum than 25 lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses and elephants, and foot soldiers and cavalry, whose cost he defrays."

SECTION VIII.

Conclusion.

It only remains to close our review of the remarkable career of this remarkable man with a consideration of the way in which he actually ruled and utilized the institutions of which he was the author for actual administration. And such a consideration shews that he was as great in *doing* as he was in *planning*. He had not only a head to think, but a hand to execute. He was not only an organizer, but a practical administrator.

Visvanātha as a practical administrator.

His measures were so conceived as to conciliate all classes of people. The Brahmins were edified by his liberal gifts to them, their temples and their gods. Lands were freely bestowed on them, cows as well as coins; and everywhere in the south, on the banks of rivers or in the vicinity of temples, there grew prosperous *agrahārams*, wherein the chant of *Vēdas* and the noise of studies mingled with praises to the royal benefactor. Viśvanātha in fact was an idol of the Brāhmins, and his successors never forgot this. Orthodox in practice or not, they never ceased to show respect for orthodoxy. The agricultural people were equally gratified by Viśvanātha's solicitous attention to their needs and comforts. He bestowed happiness on thousands of homeless men by giving them lands to settle in and cultivate. The public distress which had been caused by the exposure of the people to the incessant rage of war and the insecurity of property, was alleviated by this paternal act. Knowing that the prosperity of an agricultural country depended on a good system of irrigation, he constructed two dams, the *Perianai* and *Chinnai*,⁵ in order to divert the waters of Vaigai, through a number of canals and water courses, to the parched-up fields around Madura. A glance at the course of the Vaigai will give an idea of the wisdom of Viśvanātha's choice of the sites for these dams. The Vaigai, it is well known, rises in the Varushanād valley, and after a few miles northward course receives the copious waters of the Suruḷi, the river which drains the flanks of the Kambam valley. The junction of the Suruḷi makes the Vaigai a deep and rapid stream, flowing in a narrow channel. In its subsequent north-eastern course under the northern slopes of the Āṇḍipaṭṭi hills and the Nāgamalais, it is further swelled by the perennial streams of the Varāhanadi and Mañjaḷār which rush down from the Palnis. Immediately after this, the river turns and begins that south-easterly course in which it continues until it reaches the sea. It is at this important turning point that Viśvanātha constructed his dams. It was a wise choice as by this time the river becomes full and, after this, it has simply to give and not take. From the dams a number of canals carried the waters to the banks and reservoirs excavated in almost every village. The whole country thus came to have a network of canals broken at intervals by big reservoirs which stored water and averted droughts. The immediate result of the creation of irrigational facilities was an enormous increase in the area of cultivation, in the formation of new villages, in population and in material prosperity. Droughts became less common and famines less formidable.

His works in Tinnevely.

The province of Tinnevely also had the full advantage of these measures of construction and consolidation. The great Nāik conqueror seems to have employed the months which immediately followed the subjugation of the Five Pāṇḍyas in the pacification and

⁵ For an account of these and other *aṇicūṭas* see *Madura Gazr.* p. 124-8.

settlement of the afflicted province. Besides building the city of Tinnevely and its suburb Palamkôta and furnishing it with temples, he replaced the miserable and wretched cottages which lined the Tâmbraparṇi banks and which had been owned by the indigenous cultivators, by regular and well-built villages of Brahman colonists from the north. It was a measure most pregnant in after consequences, and the descendants of these colonists remain to the present day the owners of much of the best lands, and the most intelligent, influential and cultivated⁶ section of Hindu Society in Tinnevely. His liberality also endowed, in other parts of the province, lands for Brahman *agrahârams*, and his enlightened agrarian policy carried out as many irrigation works from the Tâmbraparṇi as from the Vaigai. The security of the people was also safeguarded by the establishment of a vigorous and efficient police.

The death and character of Viśvanātha.

All this work meant ceaseless activity, restless energy, which even the iron frame of Viśvanātha could not endure. Worn out by war and work, the cares of defence and statecraft, he gave up his life in the midst of his labours⁷ at evidently a comparatively early age of about 55 or 60. Enough has been said to shew that he had so regulated his behaviour as to win the affection of his people and made his death keenly felt by them. He was an uncommon statesman with all the elements of greatness in his character. With the right apprehension of the needs and necessities of the times and a clear grasp of the means whereby they could be satisfied, he had set to work with a firm will and broadminded sympathy, evolved order out of chaos and a powerful kingdom out of a confused collection of refractory and turbulent vassal-states, into which Madura was then, owing to the degeneration of the Pandyan kings into mere phantoms of royalty, practically divided. His work of construction and consolidation was so thorough that, in spite of the frequent revolutions to which the country was then habituated and in spite of the incompetence of many of his successors, the kingdom which he established lasted for two centuries. Bold, active, generous, kind and tactful, Viśvanātha Nāik was a man of versatile talents, endowed with a personal magnetism which enshrined him in the hearts of his subjects, and enabled him to leave a deep impression on the history of south India. The best trophy which posterity has erected to his memory is his statue in the *Vasanta Maṇḍapa* of Sundarēśvara's temple in Madura, worshipped even to-day by numberless people, who know only vaguely that Maha Rājā Mānya Sri Viśvanātha Nāikan Aiyar Avergaḷ was the great Kartā of Madura in days of old, but who do not know how great and good he actually was.

(To be continued.)

⁶ *Tinnevely Manual*, p. 70.

⁷ It has been already pointed out that he was born in the beginning of the 16th century or a decade before. He could not have been more than 60 at the time of his death in 1563. There is no basis whatever to believe that Viśvanātha died, as Wheeler says, in the field of battle. (Wheeler's *Hist.*, Vol. V., pt. II, p. 574.) The *Hist. Carna. Dynas.* assigns Viśvanātha's death to 1458 A. D., which is of course absurd. The "*Supple. M. S.*" agrees with it. The *Pāṇḍ. Chron.* says that he ruled from *Raudri Mārgaḷi* to *Dundumi*, i. e. for the space of 2 years and 4 months, and from *Rudhirōtkāri* down to *Āṅgīrasa*, his son Kumāra Krishṇappa was in power. (*Rudhirōtkāri*=1563-4). *Mirtanḍya M. S.*, ("Royal line of the Carnataca princes") gives a more accurate date. It says that on *Tai II*, *Rudhirōtkāri*, Viśvanātha caused his son to be anointed. It seems from this that the Karta was alive when his son was anointed. Most probably he was on his death-bed and wanted to see his son on the throne before his death. It must have been soon after his death that Kumāra Krishṇappa gave the 8 villages mentioned in the *Krishṇāpuram* temple inscription. (Insen. 17 of 1912). See *Ep. Rep.*, 1913, p. 17. According to Sowell Viśvanātha's death was in December 1563. (*Antiquities*, II, p. 201).

MISCELLANEA.

SOME LITERARY REFERENCES TO THE
ISIPATANA MIGADĀYA (SARNATH.)

THE Isipatana Migadāya¹ derives its importance from the fact that it was here that the Buddha preached his first sermon, the *Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta*, advocating abstention from the extremes of luxury and asceticism, setting forth the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths (*Āriya-Sacca*), and exhorting his auditors the *Pañcavaggiyā* to pursue the *Āriya Aṭṭhaṅgika Magga*.

The locus classicus is in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (Ed. Oldenberg) *Mahāvagga* I. 6-10 Seq. = *Samyutta-Nikāya* (P. T. S.) 5 pp. 420-22.²

The place is also the scene of the conversion of Yaśa, son of a merchant of Benares. The interesting story concerning him and his family is given, in detail, in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya* Text 3), p. 15. The Legend of the Burmese Buddha gives the same story with slight alterations in names, e.g., there we find Ratha in place of Yaśa, Bārānathi for Bārāṇasī, Migaduvana for Migadāya. [Note the usual phrase—*tatra sutam bhagavā Bārāṇasīyaṃ viharati Isipatane Migadāye*.]

It was in Isipatana that the Buddha recounted the *Udāpānādāsaka-Jātaka* (II. 354)

Buddhaghosha in his commentary on the *Mahāpadāna-Sutta* says: *Dhammachakkapavattanam Isipatane Migadāye avijahitaṃ eva hoti*. (It was in the Deer Park of Isipatana that *Dhammachakrapravartana* was named). In another part of the same commentary, we read: *Kheme Migadāye ti—Isipatanam tena samāyena khemaṃ nama uyyānam hoti, Migānam pana abhayaṃ satthāya dinnatā Migadāyo ti vuchchati. Tam Sandhāya evuttam 'Kheme Migadāye' ti. Yathā cha Vipassī Bhagavā evaṃ aññepi Buddhā pathamam Dhamma-desanaṃ tthāya gacchhantā ākāseṇa gantvā tattheva otaranti*.³ (In explaining the expression *Kheme Migadāye* the commentator says: "Isipatana was, at that time, known to be the Khema or the auspicious garden. It was called Migadāya, because it was granted in order that the deer might dwell there in all safety. It was in reference

to this very fact that the expression *Kheme Migadāye* was used. Gautama Buddha and the other Buddhas first of all alighted there while going through the air to preach the Sacred Faith.)

The scene of the 9th *Vatthu* of the XVth *Vagga* of the *Dhammapada* (*Nandiyavattu*) is laid here. Having heard the teaching of the Buddha, he thought that it would be meritorious to give some dwelling-place to the Order, so he caused to be constructed a *Chatussālā* adorned with four rooms and furnished with chairs and benches, and then handed it over to the Order with the Buddha at its head. This was situated in the *Isipatana-Mahāvihāra*.

The *Mahāvastu* tells us that the *Suddhādeva Devas* warned the Pratyeka-Buddhas⁴ to vanish; for in twelve years the Bodhisattva would descend upon the earth. At half a *yojana* from Benares were living five hundred Pratyeka-Buddhas; rising in the air, they entered into Nirvāṇa, and their bodies consumed by the elements of fire, which they had in them, fell back upon the earth: *Īśhayos-tra patitā īśhipatanam*.⁵ A story resembling the *Nigrodha-miga-jātaka* then follows. Here the king is the ruler of Benares—Brahmadatta by name. From the grant of the boon (*dāya*) made to the deer, the spot was called *Mṛigadāya*. This is the view held by Senart in his notes to which I propose to offer the following emendation. To me it appears that very early the site of Isipatana was called *Mṛigadāya* (*dāya* meaning 'forest') from the fact that it was full of the deer. Afterwards, however, when all places associated with the Buddha's life used to be the favourite scenes of thousands of Buddhist fables, Isipatana had likewise the story recorded in the *Mahāvastu*. It then came to be known as *Mṛigadāya* instead of *Mṛigadāva*. Since then, very probably the word *dāya* in the original sense of 'forest' has become obsolete and the prakṛitised word *dāya*, both meaning 'boon' and 'forest' has come into current use in all Pāli works.

BRINDAVAN C. BHATTACHARYA.

¹ The modern Sarnath.

² Compare in this connexion, *Buddhist Birth Stories*: The Pāli Introduction P. 112 and Legend of the Burmese Buddha p. 117 Seq.

³ It adds that the Buddha for a special reason went on foot to that place.

⁴ Cf. *Buddha* by Dr. H. Oldenberg, p. 120 foot note. The great antiquity of the Pratyeka Buddhas is discussed in brief in "Apadāna" folio of the Phayre MSS.

⁵ For etymology cf. Senart's view—"En dépit de cette étymologie, les deux orthographes du mot, familières à notre texte, sont, non pas कपिपतन mais on कपिपत्तन (ci-dessous), p. 366, I. 8: पटन) on कपिपत्तन J' ai donc né la préférence à cette seconde forme" (ordinaire aussi dans les gāthās du Lal. Vist) * * * —*Le Mahāvastu* Ed. by Senart Vol. I, p. 631.

PATANARAYANA STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA PRATAPASINHA.
[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1344 (1287 A. D.)

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH SASTRI, JODHPUR.

I edit this inscription from an excellent impression kindly given to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gorishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. The original inscription was found in the Pāṇārāyaṇa temple near Girvar about 4 miles west of Madhusūdana in Sirohi State.

This inscription consists of 39 lines covering a space of 2 ft. 6 inches broad by 1 ft. 11 inches high. The inscription is well preserved. The Characters are Nāgarī. The Language is Sanskrit, lines 1-35 are written in verses numbering 46. Lines from 35 to the end are in prose. With regard to Orthography it must be noted that a consonant following r is sometimes doubled, and sometimes not. As regards Lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed :

(1) *Dēvaḍa* employed in l. 36, denotes a line of Chāhamānas: the present rulers of Sirohi also belong to this line. (2) *Dōṇakāri*, l. 36, the appropriate meaning of which can not be explained: it may denote a Mārwarī word *ḍoli*; if it is a Sanskrit word, it is composed of two words *drōṇa* and *khāri*, the respective meanings of which are 32 and 96 seers. (3) *Ḍhibāḍau*, l. 36 means *ḍhimaḍā*, (a well), well-known in Mārwar. (4) *Arahaṭṭa*, l. 37, means a Persian wheel. (5) *Ḍhikaḍā*, *ḍhikaā* are also used for *ḍhimaḍā*. (6) *Gōhil-utra* stands for the Sanskrit word *Guhila-putra*.

The inscription is of great importance in connection with Paramara history. It contains the genealogy of the Paramārās as follows :—

Vaśiṣṭha created Dhūmarāja Paramara, by means of *mantras* from the *agni-kunḍa* at Ābū. Dhāravarsha was born in his family. In the 15th *śloka* it is mentioned that this Dhāravarsha pierced three buffaloes with one arrow. This is supported by the fact that on the Mandākinī tank outside the temple of Achaḷśvara on Ābū there is a statue of Dhāravarsha, about 5 ft. in height with a bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing before him with a hole running through their bellies. Dhāravarsha had a son Sōmasiḥha by name who had a son named Kṛishṇarāja. The son of the latter was Pratāpasīḥha, who defeated Jaitrakarṇa and regained Chandravatī. Perhaps this Jaitrakarṇa may be Jaitrasīḥha of Mewār, who was the grandson of Rāula Mathanasiḥha and son of Padmasiḥha. Pratāpasīḥha's Brāhmaṇa minister Dēlhaṇa re-built the temple of Pāṇārāyaṇa in [Vikrama] Samvat 1344 (=1287 A. D.)

Text.

- 1 || ॐ ॥ ॐ नमः पुण्योत्तमाय ॥ श्रीराजेण विजित्य रावणमय स्वीकृत्य सीतां किञ्च व्यावृत्तेन पुरीं पुराऽर्चुं कते
कृत्याऽथ देशार्चनां विप्रस्थानसनं सुम-
- 2 गजपदं यः स्थापितोऽसौ विमुग्ध्यादुरिविभूतये स भवतां श्रीपट्टनारायणः ॥ १ ॥ देवस्याऽर्चुं तथिजनस्य
भवतो रामस्य धर्मकर्म वाशिष्ठं च तथाऽर्चुं च चरितं कि-
- 3 चित्प्रनारोद्धवं । चक्रे देवलयमंविषोद्धविरय श्रीपट्टविष्णोर्यथा विप्रः सर्वमिदं धनक्ति विजयादिरयः कवि-
प्रावणीः ॥ २ ॥ जयतु निखिलतीर्थैः सेव्यमानः सन-
- 4 तान्मुनिपुरपुरपत्नीसंखुतैर्बुद्धादिः विलसत् [न] लग्नाद्भुतं श्रीवशिष्ठः कल्पे सुनन्दके सृष्टवान् यत्र
मैत्रेः ॥ ३ ॥ आनीतधेन्वे पर निर्जयेन मुनिः स्वयो-
- 5 त्रं परमारजाति । तस्मै दशदुद्धतभूरिभायं तं धीमराजं च चकार नाम्ना ॥ ४ ॥ वशिष्ठगोबोद्धव एव लोके
ख्यातस्त्वज्ञौ परमारवंशः । स्वस्थस्तु तस्मै कर्मसंकथा-

- 6 यां विधास्यते तस्य विभावनापि ॥ ५ किञ्चैकदा निहंत्यरावणः श्रीरामाऽर्जुनोपातनिविष्टसैन्यः । बह्वौ विशुद्धा-
मिह चाक्षयं सीतां शुद्धेश्वरं स्थापयति स्म देवं ॥ ६ स्था-
- 7 ने तथापि विविधं च नाम्ना साम्राज्यविप्रेरनिर्दिष्टमानं । निवेद्य पठे प्रकृतानिषेकः श्रीमद्दशरथेन तदा मुदा च ॥ ७
श्रीमद्दशरथस्य च गौतमस्य पुण्याश्रमोत्तीर्णसुरभ्र (स)-
- 8 वंत्वाः । इह प्रवाहद्वयसंगमाग्नः पूर्णोपगापहनदोषकंटे ॥ ८ श्रीपद्मनारायणमेनमुच्चैः प्रकल्प्य तत्रैव च
लक्ष्मणेशं । सौमित्रितीतापरिचर्यमाणस्ततः प्रतस्थे स्वपु-
- 9 रीमयोध्यां ॥ ९ तदादि गंगाद्वयवारिपूर्णः ख्यातः स्फुटं पहनदोषमुच्चैः । कृष्णोपकंटे ननु मुक्तिहेतुं ये
गुह्यतीर्थं प्रवर्तते तज्ञाः (ज्ञाः) ॥ १० किं ब्रूहे वैभवमर्जुनाद्रः सम-
- 10 स्ततीर्थः समलंकृतस्य । च्छा (छा) यापि यस्या तनुते मनुनां तनुत्यजां दुर्योतिनाशमुच्चैः ॥ ११ स्थाने तत-
स्तस्त्विधोर्वरायां वराणि तीर्थान्यतनोत्स रामः । अयोध्यां स्थानमपि प्र-
- 11 सिद्धं सद्देवविद्विप्रवरोपकृतं ॥ १२ श्रीरामशासनमहो किनु वर्णयामः किंवा प्रनारद्विधोपतिसचरित्रं । ये
राममुख्यपुत्रिधोपतिदत्तमूत्रिरापाल्यते प्रतिपदं विनिरस्त-
- 12 जौल्यैः ॥ १३ तस्मिन् किजार्जुनधरावलये स धारावर्षो बभूव नृपतिर्गुह्यवीररत्नं । यस्य प्रनापरिकरोऽय-
दिनानियावत् यस्मिन्नसत्यपि लसद्यु (द्यु) तिरद्भुतं तत् ॥ १४ एकवा-
- 13 णनिहतजिल्लाभुं^१ ये निरीक्ष्य कुरुयोधसदृशं । चंडिकाकृत तदेककपाला लज्जितासिमधुना न धुनाति ॥ १५
श्रीसोमसिंहोजनि भूमिपालस्ततोऽरिभूपाजनिबद्धकालः ।
- 14 यः शौर्यशानाधिकयोगभावात्संगीयते राम इवाभिरामः ॥ १६ श्रीकृष्णदेवस्तनयस्ततोऽर्जुनयापि शौर्येण च
कृष्णकल्पः । प्रद्युम्नकल्पोऽजनि येन स श्रीप्रतापसिंहोरिकरी-
- 15 श्रैष्ठः ॥ [१७] कामं प्रमथ्य समरे जगदेकवीरस्तं जैत्रकण्ठमिह कर्णमिदं द्रुमुतः । चंद्रावती परकुलोदधि-
वुरमन्मार्ग्या वराह इव यः सहस्रोदधार ॥ १८ अयाजनेषामनु
- 16 संकथानिरतन्महीमुख्यतयावृताभिः । वि (वी) क्षा (का) महे संप्रति पदविष्णुप्रासादजीर्णो-
द्धरणक्रमं तं ॥ १९ कालः किजार्जुन दुरतिक्रम एव योसौ तान् निर्जरायपि जराविधुरा-
- 17 न् करोति । चैत्रेति निर्जरपतेः किमनेन चक्रे प्रासाद एष ननु जर्जरस्तादमबंधः ॥ २० इति ननु कतिचि-
द्विर्वासरैः शोणसंधौ शिथिलितशिखरामे निर्मलदृष्टिचिदी । यत इ-
- 18 दितवतीय स्वाश्रयेऽस्मिन्हरिस्तस्वदुत्तरकरणार्थं देहलणं द्यादिदेश ॥ २१ ततः पटुतरं मंत्री देहलणं ब्राह्मणो
व्याधात्^२ । श्रीपद्विष्णुप्रासादं जीर्णं विस्रसायनैः ॥ २२ व्यापारधारेयतयै-
- 19 पमंवी SSSSS किं नेति तस्मिन् ननु मंत्रयोगान् । यो मंत्रयित्वा हृदि रामराजं धर्मेण साहाय्यमहो चकार ॥ २३
इतश्चोपमन्योऽमुने (ने) रम्यगोत्रे सर्वाका-
- 20 क इत्याविरासीद्वि (हि) जंघः । यतः संप्रसूता चरुपीति नाम्नी सुता चंद्रिकावस्तुरुपातिशुद्धा ॥ २४ तथा
संगमासाद्य साशकनाम्ना द्विजेनोद्भवलेनैर्दुर्कातोपमेन । सुताः पं-
- 21 चयज्ञोपनाः पंचजाताः सुधापंचनिर्यदसंश्लेषकल्पाः ॥ २५ लक्ष्मणकैलहणवालनसंज्ञास्तुयैस्तु देहल (न)-
स्तेषु । ख्यातो भास्करनाम्ना पंचमकः श्रुतिविदः सर्वे ॥
- 22 २६ निजं गर्गपुत्रि (नि) गौवं शाखां माभ्येदिनीमथ । प्रवरान् चीन् यदुर्वेदं स्वस्थानं विविडं तथा ॥ २७
आवस.....लावेतौ वानादेशकसंज्ञको । केशयो महामुण्यश्च मा-
- 23 त्हासासानिधानकी ॥ २८ आत्मना सह तान् सप्त पूर्वजानिति च क्रमात् ॥ लक्ष्मणादीनय भ्रातृनन्यानापि
च पूर्वजान् ॥ २९ उद्धार स धर्मात्मा देहलणो सुमहामतिः । स्वकीर्यै-
- 24 व सुधापीतं विष्णुप्रासादमुद्धरन् ॥ ३० तुर्योपि धुर्यस्तु गुणैरुदारैः स देहलणो विस्रसायनेन । यः कालजीर्णं
ननु पदविष्णुप्रासादमेनं नयमेव चक्रे ॥ ३१ जीर्णो-
- 25 द्धारादप्रतिष्ठापितं च भक्त्या विष्णवैकचलाशनोऽभूत् । कर्मस्था ये यश्च पूर्णोति तूर्णं मेने न (मा) नी स्व
ततः पूर्णकामं ॥ ३२ हेमे पदं भूपणं भालमूले चक्रे वैकुण्ठरथकं-

^१ Read ° लुलायं.

^२ By a mistake the engraver has left the word ब्राह्मणो out of the 18th line and engraved it in the 19th line.

^३ These five signs SSSSS are redundant.

- 26 डे च सौम्यं । हेमनासीन्मुक्तिलोकोऽश्वयोस्य सौम्येयानंदो महीयात् पितृणां ॥ ३३ प्रायशः कलिमलाकुलितानां शुद्धये हि शरणं हरिरेकः । सर्वपातकनिराकृ-
- 27 तिहेतुयेततः शरणमेवमयासीत् ॥ ३४ जीवितं तरुणताय धनं वा कस्यचित्कचन न स्थिरमास्ते । इत्यव(वे)भ्य सुकृतैरिति तैर्यस्तानि सुस्थिरतमानि वितेने ॥ ३५ संवत्
- 28 त्रयोदशशते विचत्वारिंशद्विंशत्यया । ख्याते संवत्सरे शुक्रदशम्याम(मा)श्विनस्य च ॥ ३६ जीर्णोद्धारसमा- रंभं कारयामास देवहूतः । आगामिनि चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्विंशत्येव वत्सरे ।
- 29 ३७ ज्येष्ठस्य सितपंचम्यां प्रतिहां च ध्वजोच्छ्रयं । समापद्य च तत्कृत्यं सर्वे शांतिकपूर्वकं ॥ ३८ ततो यदृ- च्छयाभोज्यवस्त्रदानैर्द्विजोत्तमान् यथापात्रं तथा लोकान्
- 30 प्रीणयामास तद्दिने ॥ ३९ विप्रः किल माहकपात्रमेव प्रायः कलौ यो विद्मे वृथेति । न्यायार्जितैः स्थान- विभागवृत्तिः धनैर्नि(र्नि)जेरीदृशधर्मकर्त्ता ॥ ४० गंगाप्रवाहप-
- 31 यतोः(सः) स्तवकः किमुचैः किंवाऽस्य साव इव सांग इहास्ति शुद्धः । आभात्यलं धवलितः सुधया विदूरात्प्रासाव एष जनलोचनकर्म्मणः श्रीः ॥ ४१ श्रीमालवाधिपति(तु) रु-
- 32 ष्कबलैकजैत्रभीमादेवसुतर्षासलरम्यराज्ये । सर्वैर्द्विजैरनुमताविमदेववायैः जीर्णोद्धारित्यर्जनि वत्स(त्त) - चतुःशतीकैः ॥ ४२ धरणीधरपण्डितस्य पुत्रो जननी य-
- 33 स्य च चांपलेति साध्वी । द्विजयोगिदुष्प्रापणीः स तेने वज्रादित्यकविः प्रशस्तिमेतां ॥ ४३ ॥ रोहेडास्या- नवास्तव्यधूमदेवाम्भजः सुधीः । गांगदेवः सूत्रधारः प्रशस्ति(स्ति) कीर्णवानिनां ॥ ४४ ॥
- 34 ये शब्दविद्यानिरवद्यभावाः साहित्यसौहित्यमुपेयिवांसः । येषां मना(नो) मत्सरमुक्तमेवा समुद्यता(तां) तैर्विजयाकंवाणी ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रीमद्विशद्वनवभूषणुरुत्तमोयं मुकावभासिपद-
- 35 वाक्यविदा(वां) वरेण्यः । आल्हावनस्य तनयोजनि सथिरदेव^१ मोहनाख्यः संकीर्यते स इह तत्कवितात- निचं ॥ ४६ ॥ देवस्य नेवेद्यहेतोर्वेत्तायपदव्यक्त्यर्या ॥
- 36 महाराजकुलसो(शी)नितपुत्रदेवदामेलाकेन छनारे ममे शोणकारी सेषु १ उभयं वत्तं ॥ धीमाडलीग्रामे वीहलरा० वीरपालेन डीबडड १ वत्तं । आडलिग्रामे ।
- 37 ग्रामेयकैः अरहृप्रति से ८ डीकडा डीकआ प्रति सेः २ वत्तं ॥ कालहणवाडग्रामे हलं प्रति सेः १ मोहिलउच्चनु- डिमल(ले)न प्रतिग्रामपात्रं वत्त ३० १० तथा
- 38 मडाडलीग्रामे रा० गांगू कर्मसीहाभ्यां द्वादशएकादशीषु चोलापिका आयपदं वत्तं । चंद्रावतीनडपिकायां विसार
- 39 अंकतोऽपि ॥ सं. १३४४ ज्येष्ठशुदि ५ शुक्ले जीर्णोद्धारप्रतिष्ठा

Brief sketch of the Text.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Purushottama.

Verse 2 invokes the blessings of Sri Paṭṭanārāyaṇa, who, we are told, was established on Mt. Ābū by Rāma on his way back to his capital with Sītā after defeating Rāvaṇa. Vijayāditya the author of this *prāśasti* (v. 2) promises to give a short account of Rāmachandra, Vaśiṣṭha, Mount Ābū, the Paramāras and of repairs to Pāṭanārāyaṇa temple by Delhaṇa, minister of the Paramāras.

Verse 3 relates that Vaśiṣṭha created a warrior from his *agnikuṇḍa* on Mount Ābū. The sage conferred the title of Paramāra and named him Dhūmarāja for defeating his enemies, who had stolen away the sage's cow (v. 4). From that day the Paramāras became of Vaśiṣṭha *gotra* (v. 5).

The sixth verse shows that Rāmachandra, after examining Sītā's piety by means of *agni*, established Suddhēśvaradēva near Ābū.

Verses 7 to 9 show that Rāmachandra, being installed by Vaśiṣṭha, and having established Paṭṭanārāyaṇa and Lakshmaṇēśa on the bank of Paṭṭanada, the source of which lies

¹ The letters सथिरदेव are in excess of the metre.

near the *śrīramas* of Vāśiṣṭha and Gautama, left for his capital, accompanied by Sītā and Lakshmaṇa.

(Verse 10)—From that day the said Paṭṭanada has become a famous holy place known as Guhyatirtha.

Verses 11 and 12 contain words in praise of Mount Ābū.

Verses from 13 to 18 give the genealogy of the Paramāras as has been mentioned above.

Verses from 19 to 23 describe the repairs of the temple by Brāhmaṇa Dēlhaṇa, the minister of Paramāras.

Verses 24 to 26 give a genealogy of Dēlhaṇa as follows :—In the line of Upamanyu-muni was born a Brāhmaṇa Viśākā, whose daughter Charūpi was married to Sādāka, by whom five sons were born namely Lakshmaṇa, Kēlhaṇa, Vālaṇa, Dēlhaṇa and Bhāskara.

Verses 27 to 31 show that the fourth son Dēlhaṇa, by repairing the temple, made known his Garga Gōtra, Mādhyandini Sākhā, three Pravaras, Yajurvēda, his village Grivīḍa, and seven ancestors namely Āvasa....lā, Vānā, Dēdāk, Kēśava, Mahamūṇa, Malha, Sāsā, including himself and his five brothers Lakshmaṇa, etc., in this world.

Verses 32 to 35—Dēlhaṇa is praised for his conduct during the time the temple was being re-built.

Verses 36 to 40—show that the work of repairing the temple was commenced on the 10th of the bright half of the Āśvina Vikrama Saṃvat 1343 and finished on the 5th of the bright half of the Jyēṣṭha Vikrama Saṃvat 1344.

Verse 41 speaks of the beauty of the temple.

Verse 42 shows that the repairs were carried on during the reign of king Viśala, son of the king Bhādadēva, victor of the Turushkas and the king of Malwa.

Verse 43 tells us that the author of this *Pratistī* was Vijayāditya, whose parents were Dharaṇidhara and Chāmpalā.

Verse 44 shows that this inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadēva, son of Mūmadēva, resident of Rōhēdā.

Verse 45 speaks of the ability of the author.

Verse 46 refers to the author's father as a friend of Mōhana, the son of Alhādana, perhaps one of the seven forefathers of Dēlhaṇa.

For the maintenance of this temple the following grants and offerings were made by neighbouring persons.

L. 36 Dēvaḍā Mēlāka son of Sōbhita: one *doṣakāri* and a field in the village of Chhan-āra. Rājaputra Virapāla son of Vihala: a *dhīmaḍā* in the village of Khimāuli.

L. 37 The villagers of Āuli: 8 seers of corn from each *arahaṭṭa* and 2 seers from each *dhīmaḍu*. In village Kālhaṇavāḍā: one seer of grain at each plough. Nuḍimala son of Guhila: 10 *drammas* from each of his villages.

L. 38 Rājaputra Gāngū and Karmasīṣha: for twelve *ekādasis* the revenue of the Chōlapikā, in the village of Maḍāuli and export duty of Chandrāvati.

L. 39 on Friday the 5th of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1344, Pratishṭhā ceremony was performed.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A. L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 75.)

The effects of his measures.

The result of all these salutary measures was that, for the first time in a long series of years, the people felt a radical improvement in their conditions. The season of anarchy and misrule was over, and the ravages of invaders and the extortions of tyranny became things of the past. A sense of relief and security, of happiness and contentment, spread all over the kingdom and in an incredibly short time its effect was visible everywhere. Hundreds of ruined men who had deserted their plough, their looms, or their shops, and resorted to the obscure but tranquil felicity of a rustic life, returned to their occupations. Forests gave place to fields, Brahman colonies and industrial centres sprung up in large numbers, and all the activities of a healthy national life came into existence. Where there had been ruined huts and neglected waste, there were now smiling fields or imposing buildings. The cries of oppression and the tumult of discontent were replaced by the peaceful hum of industrial life and the busy noise of commercial transactions. Never has the magic of personal goodness and political capacity done so much, and never has there been a worthier example in history of efforts so well directed, and of results so promptly and successfully achieved.

CHAPTER. IV.

The Naik Kingdom in the latter half of the 16th century.**Introduction.**

IN the last chapter I described the various circumstances that led to the foundation of the Naik kingdom of Madura. In the present I shall consider the progress it made in the first half a century of its existence. The first thing that is noticeable in the history of this period is that the crown changed hands thrice. Between 1562 and 1572 it was worn by the valiant Kumāra Krishṇappa I; the next two decades, by his two sons Virappa and Viśvanātha II, and the last seven years by the sons of the former, Viśvanātha III and Kumāra Krishṇappa II. A remarkable feature in the position of these rulers was the joint holding of the royal dignity by brothers. The practice of joint royalty was not a Naik innovation. It was in existence, as we have already seen in the first chapter, in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the extreme corner of the peninsula. It became, unfortunately, the custom of the Naik dynasty. It was indeed not universally adopted even here. There were times when, as we shall see in the course of this history, an elder brother ruled without being yoked with his younger brother in the royal office. Nevertheless, even in the latter case, the younger brother was, if not entrusted with the equal authority of a colleague, almost always made *chinna dorai* the second-in-power to the ruling chief, and in that capacity held an important place in the administration of the country. An institution based on such a principle naturally suffered from lack of vigour or efficiency, and it might be thought that the comparatively frequent change of rulers and the system of joint rule, made the progress of the infant kingdom a matter of difficulty and trouble. But fortunately in the 16th century these evils were minimised by the strong hand of Āryanātha, the great *dalavāi* of Viśvanātha. We have seen what a prominent part he played in the foundation of the kingdom. But for his assistance the task would have been a stupendous, if not an impossible one, for his master, Viśvanātha I.

But Āryanātha's labours were not destined to end as Viśvanātha's lieutenant and minister. He was destined to hold that power for the next 40 years, during the three generations of rulers, who succeeded his master. Nothing could have been more beneficial to the kingdom or the people. Like a tender plant the great statesman nourished it to

youth and vigour, and left it at his death in 1600 the strongest power in South India. His skill, tact and genius introduced unity of policy in the State. While rulers changed, he managed to continue in office, and as he worked in a most disinterested manner with the prestige of the kingdom and the welfare of the people in his heart, he was able to tide over obstacles and consolidate the kingdom in such a thorough manner that it was able to hold the first place in South Indian politics for the next one-and-a-half centuries. Aryanātha was able to maintain himself in power for such a long period, because his experience in statecraft made his services indispensable to the Nāik ruler. His character endeared him to the people, while his capacity kept turbulence in check. Herein is the cause of the singular absence of the disturbance of his administration by conspiracy or rebellion. Feared by the Polygars and beloved by the masses, he was never reduced, except on two or three occasions, to the necessity of punishing or pardoning treason.

The cause of Aryanātha's domination ought to be attributed not merely to his character and to his services to the State. It was due to other circumstances also. We have seen how the principle of joint authority in the royal office had the tendency to promote reliance on ministerial wisdom. The vicissitudes of the Vijayanagar Empire in this age had the same effect. The disaster at Talikōṭṭah was followed by the practical dismemberment of the Empire. Aryanātha, on whom devolved the management of the imperial affairs, placed the relationship between Madura and the decaying Empire on such a basis that, while continuing in name the vassalage to the Empire, he was able to ensure practical independence to Madura. It was an arrangement which satisfied all parties. The Emperor was content to receive tribute and nominal allegiance without trouble, while the Madura chief was gratified by practical independence. He came thus to be looked on as a friend by all. To the Emperor he seemed the preserver of imperial integrity, and to his immediate master, the best and truest benefactor. Both therefore upheld his policy and depended on his wisdom.

The result of all this was seen in the growing strength and prosperity of the kingdom. Its frontiers extended from Maisur to the Cape and from sea to sea. It had an excellent system of military defence. Its legions were victorious in all quarters, and held Tanjore on one side, Maisur on the other, in effective check. It had a number of loyal magnates, who kept a vigilant police and maintained the security of person and property. It had a contented population, who grew in wealth and in happiness. It had a sound system of finance. It, above all, was able to engage in an enterprising foreign policy and conquer Ceylon. It attracted the cupidity of European merchants, just then coming to the peninsula. It was able to dazzle the world by its temple architecture, its arts of peace. Lastly, it was attractive enough for the missionary, especially the Jesuit, who saw in it the stronghold of Hindu civilization and therefore the most worthy subject of spiritual conquest.

SECTION I.

Kumāra Kṛishṇappa (1562—1572).

On the death of Viśvanātha I, the viceregal throne devolved on his son, Kumāra Kṛishṇappa,² a prince of high talents and acknowledged abilities. In an age when the security of power was dependent on personal valour and military glory alone, the true

² Also known as Peria Kṛishṇama. According to the *Hist. of Carna*, *Dhorai* and "Supple. MS." he ruled from 1468 A.D. (*Bahudhānya*) to 1489 (*Kilaka*). But the *Pand. Chron.* and *Miri. MSS.* say that he ruled from 1562 (*Rudhīrōtkāri*) to 1573 (*Āṅgila*). Very amusing, but false, events are given by Wheeler in regard to this ruler. He attributes to him the date 1562-1572. "The new Nāik was only three years old when his father died, but he was carried in procession through the streets of Madura, and installed upon the throne with the usual ceremonies. His grand father Nagama Nāik and Aryanātha Mudali, the minister and commander-in-chief, acted as regents for the infant prince. As he grew up he acted according to their advice, and followed the example set by his father; he maintained the rights of the Brahmans and those of the temples; he married and had a son before he arrived at years of

badge of greatness, a gifted individual like Kumāra Krishṇappa could not but make his influence felt. Endowed with a hardy nature, which unfolded, during the heat of war, a marvellous energy and an active enthusiasm, Krishṇappa had also the noble moderation and the gallant chivalry of his father. With rare personal heroism he combined a generous heart, which opened readily to the fallen and sympathised with the weak. Able by nature, he had also the advantage of the discipline of his youth, the training he had undergone both in war and in the art of government, under his illustrious father. To crown all, he had the further advantage, throughout his reign, of the judicious precepts and thoughtful counsels of the great statesman Aryanātha. No better example have we in Nāik History of a natural capacity so incessantly helped by the wisdom of experience; and the result was a great and successful reign. Much of the credit of Krishṇappa's rule was due to his predecessor and to his minister, the one bequeathed to him a strong government and a sound policy, and the other gave him the weight of his counsels. Nevertheless, not a little of the success must be attributed to his own powerful personality and vigorous intelligence.

The Battle of Talikōṭṭa and Krishṇappa's part in it.

The first and foremost event which distinguished the period of Krishṇappa's rule, and created a new epoch in the history of the whole of South India, was the Muhammadan invasion and sack of Vijayanagar⁹ in 1565. It is unnecessary to describe the events that led to it and the events that followed it. It is enough for our purpose if we consider how they affected the relations between the Empire and Madura. Kumāra Krishṇa was too good a man to forget his father's indebtedness to Sadāśiva Rāya to desert his standard at a time of disaster and danger. His loyalty is clear from an inscription¹⁰ of A. D. 1561 recording a gift of his in the Tinnevely temple, where he mentions the great minister Rāmarāya. He therefore took a prominent part in the operations of the Talikōṭṭa campaign. It is true he did not personally attend the emperor with his levies, but he did the next best thing in sending Aryanātha to the¹¹ seat of war.

discretion (i. e., before he was 10 years old). He made a journey with his guardians into the Tinnevely country and was much pleased with the immense plains covered with rich plots and fruitful orchards. He accordingly travelled farther into the Southern country. On his return he saw the place where his father died, and was so affected by the said story that he killed himself on the spot." This story, says Wheeler, is from the MSS. I have searched for it in vain. Wheeler is of opinion that the story gives false information.

The real fact is, he continues "Kumāra Krishṇappa Nāik must have attained his majority. He was the father of a child two years old. He was becoming impatient of his guardians. Accordingly they took him away from the City of Madura, and put him to death. They then built an *agrahara* as an act of atonement." (Wheeler Vol. IV, Part. II, p. 575). The absurdity of all this will be clear when the real history of the reign, as given in the text, is studied.

Epigraphical evidences regarding Kumāra Krishṇappa are very meagre. In his *Antiquities* (I, 316) Sewell mentions only one. It is an insen. in an Aiyānār Shrine in the village of Vijayapati, 20 miles S. E. of Nāngunēri, Tinnevely District. It bears date 1569 (Q. E. 745). The only other insen. I have been able to get concerning him is in *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1912-13, p. 41. It is dated S. 1485, but the year given *Krōḍhana* is wrong. It says that he gave the villages of Āriyakujam, Pattanēri *alias* Tiruvēṅgaḷanallūr, Śīrmaṅkujam, Pottaiḷkujam, Kōḍikujam, etc., to the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha Dēva of Krishṇapuram for the merit of his father Viśvanātha.

The *Kōlloḷuḡu* says that in S. 1447, during the rule of Krishṇappa, he presented many jewels to Rāṅganātha, and his agent Narasiṅha Dēśika, son of Vāthūla Dēśika, is said to have built steps on the southern bank of the Kāveri and made for the god a coat of jewels and a crown at a cost of 150,000 gold pieces.

⁹ The detailed history of the Penukōṇḍa-Chandragiri Empire based on chronicles and inscriptions and literature from 1565 to 1650 is shortly to be published by me in the *Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society*. The present history of the Nāik kingdom of Madura is strictly speaking, a part of that history, as Madura was throughout this period, like Mysore, Gingi and Tanjore, a province of the Empire.

¹⁰ Insen, 28 of 1894.

¹¹ *Life of Aryanātha Mudaliar in the Miri, MSS.*

Paucity of materials and absence of epigraphical evidences unfortunately make a detailed description of the movements of Aryanātha in the campaign impossible; but we may believe that he took a prominent part in its conduct. At the battle which followed Vijayanagar fell from its proud position for ever. The removal of the seat of government to Penukoṇḍa, the civil war between Vēṅkaṭa and Tirumala for supreme power, the murder of Sadāśiva Rāya, the assumption of imperial title by Tirumala, and the reduction of the extreme northern provinces by Bijapur and Golconda followed. What was the exact relation between Aryanātha and the usurper, when these momentous events were going on? The Madura chronicles are silent as to this point. They completely ignore Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri and their struggles. Nor do they mention anything about the change of dynasty. But they give the politics of the day from the standpoint of Madura and are, in consequence, though not completely reliable, of high value to the historian. They are not, as between themselves, quite consistent; but there are certain agreements in them, which seem to give them a certain amount of authority. Conflicting with each other and questionable in details, they depict Aryanātha Mudaliār, the Madura Daḷavāi, as the master of the situation after the Talikōṭṭah campaign. When the Muhammadans and the Marāthās, says one MS¹², came from the north in large numbers and waged war with the Rāya, "the Mudaliar left Madura with his troops, and took part in the war. When, in the course of it, the Rāya died, he left a written will to the effect that Aryanātha was his adopted son, that it devolved on him to free the kingdom from its enemies."

Two versions of Aryanātha's movements.

Aryanātha, then, we are told, defeated and drove, with the grace of his deity Durga, the enemies beyond the confines of Vijayanagar, and then "consulted the elders among his own relations in regard to his assumption of the title Rāya; but they asked him not to do so." Thereupon he divided the Rāya's dominions into three parts, one of which he gave to Viśvanātha, the son of Kōṭṭiyam Nāgama Nāik; another, the country of Tanjore, to Māppillai Vijaya Rāghava Nāik; and the third, Srirāṅgapattaṅam and the Mysore country to "the Kartas." After anointing these, the Mudaliār took upon himself the duties of generalissimo over all these three kingdoms. The other story is that, when the power of Vijayanagar was destroyed by the Musalman arms, the Rāya appointed Kṛishṇappa of Madura¹³ as the Viceroy of his Northern dominions and Aryanātha in the place of Kṛishṇappa; that Aryanātha refused to accept his elevation, as his Brahman preceptor told him that the exercise of royal powers by a Śūdra was a sacrilege; and that Aryanātha was in consequence made a sort of political agent, representing the interests of the Emperor in his southern dominions. There are difficulties in acknowledging the first of these versions. In the first place, the Rāya did not die in the battlefield at all. On the other hand, he continued to rule, nominally at least, for three years more at Penukoṇḍa. He could not have therefore made such a bequest on the battlefield. Secondly, Viśvanātha Nāik did not live at the time. He had been already dead two years before the battle of Talikōṭṭah, and the story of his getting a share in the partition of the Empire is an anachronism. But the unreliable nature of the story is due more to what it does not say than to what it says, more to its omission than to its information. It completely ignores the career of Tirumala, the change of the seat of government to Penukoṇḍa, and other

¹² *Life of Aryanātha Mudaliar* See appendix I. (The Mirt. MSS.)

¹³ *Narasimhalu Naidu's Hist. South-Ind.* I don't know on what authority this account is based.

events which epigraphy conclusively proves. What was the nature of the relation between Aryanātha and Tirumala? Was he a friend of his or an enemy? Did he take part in the civil war between him and his brother, Vēṅkaṭādri? If so, which side did he join? and whom did he support? How far is the statement of the Madura chronicles that Aryanātha was the master of the situation after the Talikōṭṭa disaster true? How far is it consistent with the well-known and well-proved fact that Tirumala was in reality the master of both the emperor and the Empire? It is impossible, with the materials that are thus far available, to answer these questions. The whole subject is enshrouded in a mystery which neither the chronicles nor epigraphical evidences are able to clear. It is this obscurity that seems to warrant the belief that the story, mentioned above, is an invention of an admirer of the great Mudaliār, who gave vent to his own imagination at the expense of the truth. But while it may be acknowledged that something of this story is a fiction, it must be also acknowledged that it is based on a substratum of truth. The very existence of the different versions goes to prove this. Both agree in depicting the great general as the acknowledged leader of the Empire, as the great man of the day, as the centre of the imperial hopes. Both agree that it was his singular moderation or cautious prudence that prevented him from the dignity of royalty; and both agree that he became an imperial officer, though one considers his jurisdiction identical with the whole Empire and the other confines it to the southern dominions alone.

The probable position and movements of Aryanātha after Talikōṭṭa.

The display of so much modesty and philosophy in an age of adventure and ambition seems hardly credible to the critical historian; but it should be remembered that such a self-denial or philosophy was not impossible in the case of a man like Aryanātha, who was a staunch worshipper of orthodoxy, and whose character, after all, seems to have suited him more to be a capable lieutenant than master. At the same time his moderation might have been the result of policy. In the civil war between Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri, in the triumph of the former, in the helpless position of the Rāya, and in the other features of the then imperial politics, he perhaps felt it prudent to retire, to grant himself to a lesser rank, but a sphere of greater control. His retirement to Madura, then, might have been the product of political foresight, the outcome of an instinctive fear that the emperor was in future a phantom. Or perhaps, he entered into a tacit understanding with Tirumala that they were not to interfere with each other, that the one was free to pursue his career in the north and the other, in the south. Or he might have been disgusted with the conduct of Tirumala, and retired for ever to the south, taking leave of the imperial politics, for ever. In any case he attached himself to Kṛishṇappa and continued to be his chief friend and counsellor, his minister and Daḷavāi. Fixing his residence in the rich and fertile village of Śōḷavandān, twelve¹⁴ miles to the northwest of Madura, he made it by his labours, one of the most thriving and prosperous places in the kingdom. He fortified¹⁵

¹⁴ *The Life of Aryanātha Mudaliār*. It says that he came thither in 1566 (*Akshaya*). See the other *Mirtanjiya MSS.* in the appendix I.

¹⁵ "Śōḷavandān (a corruption of Chōḷāntaka) is historically an important place. Inscriptions show that its old name was *Chōḷāntaka Chaturvedimangalam*. The Chōḷas evidently once came as far as this, but were defeated by the Pāṇḍyans. The numerous inscriptions of Pāṇḍya rulers in the Perumāḷ temple at Śōḷavandān and in the Mōlanātha shrine at Tenkāḷi seem to show that the village was a favourite with these monarchs." (*Madura Gazetteer*, p. 297). Śōḷavandān's importance was due to its commanding situation on the road between Madura and Dindigul, and its being a halting place for the Rāmēśvaram pilgrims in those days. Later on Maṅgammā established here a choultry which exists even now. Śōḷavandān is a very fertile and populous place on the Vaigai with a population of 13,000.

it, constructed a temple, the management of which he entrusted to his old *guru* of Conjeeveram, built as many as 300 houses in it, and invited thousands of his own castemen, the Vellālas of Tonḍamaṇḍalam¹⁶ to occupy them. He also colonised the village with various classes of professional people, whose services were a necessity,—goldsmiths and blacksmiths, potters and masons, carpenters and architects, Pariah freemen and slaves. The neighbouring villages of Nageri, Pottanēri and Tirumaṅgalam¹⁷ were similarly occupied by the Vellāla relatives or dependents of the great statesman. Besides these Aryanātha built the village of Aryanāpuram on the Tambraparni banks, and that in the picturesque region of Periakulam. Even now the descendants of these colonists can be seen to flourish in these places. The inquisitive antiquarian will be specially struck with the deep affection and tender gratitude with which they, especially the Vellālas, of that part of Sōlavandān, which is called, after Aryanātha, the Mudaliār-Kōṭṭai, cherish the memory of their ancestor and benefactor.¹⁸

Aryanātha's works at Sōlavandān and elsewhere.

The fort is gone, but the colonists are prosperous and own most of the fertile fields and pleasant cocoanut groves, for which Sōlavandān is so deservedly famous. The benevolent labours of Aryanātha were not confined to his new colonists. Many a Siva and Vishṇu temple, (e. g. at Palamkōṭṭah), many a *maṇḍapa* and *gopura*, throughout Madura, owed its existence to his liberality and charity. He took a singular pleasure in the construction of edifices which struck people more by their magnificence than their beauty, more by their awe-inspiring grandeur than by their artistic excellence. He was an ardent builder, in other words, of gigantic *maṇḍapams* and thousand-pillared bowers. The grand and imposing thousand-pillared *maṇḍapams* of the Madura and Tinnevely temples, for instance, were his work. The former of these, situated in the north east corner of the shrine, just to the north of the Viravasanta *maṇḍapa*, has gained the admiration and excited the applause of artists.

His military architecture.

In military architecture also Aryanātha left equally striking monuments. The walls and fortifications of Trichinopoly, Madura and Palamkōṭṭah were no doubt carried under his supervision; and it is an irony of fate that none of these exist in their entirety in the present

¹⁶ The Kōngu Vellālas also were descended from them, as numerous chronicles testify.

¹⁷ See *Hist. Carna. Gover.* Tirumaṅgalam, on the Gundar is a Taluk centre, 13 M. S. W. Madura; Railway Station; See *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 330.

¹⁸ The most important of these is one Vira Rāgava Mudaliār, once employed in the additional sub-court of Tinnevelley. He gave me, during my visit to him, a memorandum about his ancestor and a copy of the copper-plate charter which he gave his preceptor. The charter is dated S 1555, but as the name of the year is Subhānu, it is clear that the real date is S. 1505. It says that, in that year, Aryanātha Mudaliār and some others (Vira-Rāghava, Chidambara, Muttiyappa and Vasantarāya Mudaliārs) of the Tonḍamaṇḍala Vellāla community of Janaka Nārāyanapura or Chōlakulāntaka ruled, in a meeting of all the castemen, that they should pay the disciples of Vasantarāya Kurukkal, the son of Nāma Kurukkal (of the Iṣānyāśivāchārya priesthood of Conjeeveram), and that every family among them should pay him an annual tribute of 5 *kāṣus*, besides appointing and paying *his man* as *viśe-dēvas* on ceremonial occasions, and making the contribution of 5 *kāṣus* in the name of a bridegroom and 3 *kāṣus* in the name of the bride, during marriages. All the Vellālas from Palghaut to Sētu and from the Kāveri to Tiruchchendūr were subject to this charter granted by their own will. It was signed by Aryanātha and two others above mentioned. The whole was written or engraved by Kadambavana Āśāri of Madura and ended with the figures of a Goddess and a *linga*. The inscription is interesting both socially and politically.

day. One of the MSS.¹⁹ attributes even the forts of Tanjore, Srirāṅapatnam and Vellore to him,—a statement which it justifies by saying that, though staying in Madura, he was a generalissimo of the whole Empire. The gratitude of Aryanātha, moreover appointed villages to remit *kundis* or bills of exchange to distant Benares for the daily feeding of 1,000 Brahmans in the name of Nambi, the priest of the Ganēśa temple, to whose encouragement and education, he owed all his greatness as a general and statesman.

Krishṇappa's subjugation of a local rebellion.

While the relation between Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa and the Emperor is thus one of uncertainty, there is nothing uncertain in his dealings with his own feudatories. Here he shewed himself a true son of his father, a firm and determined ruler. It has been already mentioned how the Polygar system had, with all its benefits, one great disadvantage. The loyalty of the Polygars was an elastic thing, an evanescent feeling, strong under a strong king and weak under a weak one. As long as Viśvanātha held the reins of government, the conduct of the Polygars was characterised by willing obedience; but the death of that hero and the absence of Aryanātha in the North, relieved them from the yoke of discipline, and gave them the opportunity for a rising. The man who took advantage of this state of things was the turbulent Tumbichechi²⁰ Nāik. We have already seen how, in days previous to the Nāik conquest, he had enjoyed an extensive territory and power, and how the advent of Viśvanātha gave a check to his ambition and a blow to his authority. Evidently Tumbichechi had looked on the author of his disgrace more with hatred than loyalty; but prudence and fear had prevented him from rebellion. And now, when Viśvanātha was dead, and his faithful Daḷavāi away in the North, Tumbichechi felt that a suitable opportunity for the recovery of his old prominence was come. With a few brother chiefs, who evidently shared his discontent and his views, he raided the country, and seized and fortified the important village of Paramakuḍi²¹ on the Madura-Rāmnād road, 40 miles south-east of the former and 20 miles north-west of the latter. Kumāra Kṛṣṇa found all remonstrance and warning futile, and so acted with firmness and promptness. He despatched an army of 18,000 men, commanded by 13 officers, under his trusty general Kēśavappa Nāik, a tried soldier who, as we have already seen, had served Viśvanātha I. with a faith and courage second only to that of Aryanātha. Kēśavappa marched to the enemy's camp and promptly laid siege to it, but the gallant veteran fell in one of the sallies in the course of the siege. His son and namesake, however, immediately stepped, with Kṛṣṇappa's sanction, into his position; and urged by the feeling of revenge and the desire for distinction, prosecuted the operations with vigour. Before long, he succeeded in taking the place by storm and compelling Tumbichechi to surrender. The pious zeal of the captors instantly separated his head from his body, and despatched it as a trophy of victory to the king. Kumāra Kṛṣṇa was now in a position to teach a lesson of severity and example to refractory elements by the annexation of the rebel estate. But Kṛṣṇappa, a man of valour as he was, had less valour than clemency. The true son of Viśvanātha, he believed as much in conciliation as in coercion. When therefore the two

¹⁹ The *Mirt.* MSS.

²⁰ See the *Hist. of the Pāṭayam* in the appendix for a discussion of the question.

²¹ It is now in the Rāmnād Zamindari, and has a population of about 9,000. It is on the south bank of the Vaigai. Its large stone pavilion and *chatram* is famous as a centre of charity. The inhabitants are mostly weavers and the ironsmiths are Musalmans. *Madras Manual* III, p. 653. The account of this rebellion is fully given in *Siṃhalaśloka Kathā*, for which see Taylor's *Rais Catal.* III, pp. 153-6.

sons of the deceased Polygar implored at his feet for pardon and for maintenance, he generously conferred on them the village of Pāmbār, and the wardenship over Paramakuḍi he granted a few villages for the maintenance of the widows and relations of the deceased chieftain. Krishṇappa's sense of discipline, however, demanded a chastisement, and the remaining part of the estate, in consequence, was annexed to the kingdom.²²

Krishṇappa's conquest of Kandy.

The subjugation of this internal revolt was followed by an extensive war with a foreign power, Kandy in Ceylon. Wilson and Taylor suppose that this war never happened. The silence of the *Hist. of the Carnatic Governors*, of the *Mahāvamsa*, and of the Polygar memoirs, lends support to this view. But the authority of a Telugu work *Sihāladvīpa Kathā* compels, by its accurate topography and detailed description, belief in the war. Wilson and, following him, Taylor believed that "Simhaja" here meant not Ceylon, but either Rāmnāḍ or some petty *pālayam* in Tinnevely. This is, however, against the general meaning attached to the term. At the same time the account therein given distinctly refers to a campaign in Ceylon. The author of the *Madura Manual* therefore believes that the war was a fact, and it seems that this is a conclusion worthy of acceptance. The cause of the war is uncertain, but the MS. chronicle above mentioned attributes it to the old friendship of the Kandy king with Tumbichchi Nāik and the insult with which he treated Krishṇappa's name. To the Madura monarch, the government of his kingdom did not suffice to occupy his time or his abilities. His ambition aspired to the reputation of a great conquest, and the imprudent attitude of the Kandy king presented him with an opportunity for the accomplishment of his purpose. At the head of a gigantic army formed by the musters of 52 Polygars, he reached the coast. Embarking at the holy *Navapāshāṇam* (the Nine Stones), the remnant of the old Rāma Sētu, he reached, we are told, Mannār and issued an ultimatum demanding immediate obedience and homage. The king of Kandy was too proud to answer, and Krishṇappa gave orders for the advance into the island. At Patalam the van of the Madura army, under the command of Chinna Kēsavappa, came into collision with the Singhalese, whose gigantic array of 40,000 troops was commanded by 4 ministers and 8 viceroys (*dēśanāthalu*). The battle which followed ended in victory for the Indians. No less than two ministers and five provincial chiefs fell into their hands. The captives, we are told, were so much won by the honourable and humane treatment of the invaders, that they offered to go, in company with two envoys appointed by Krishṇappa, to Kandy and persuade their king to conclude peace and pay tribute. They further offered, in case they failed, to come over, with their districts and people, to the allegiance of Madura. Krishṇappa consented, and sent two of them with two of his nominees. They proceeded to the Sinhalese capital, gained over the support of the Prime Minister, and represented to the king the necessity for yielding on the ground that the Singhalese soldiers were distinctly inferior in martial training, skill and discipline, to the Vaḍugas. But the king, more brave than prudent, refused to acknowledge the foreigner. The captives and envoys then returned, and the Kandy king advanced at the head of 60,000 Singhalese and 10,000 "kāfirs." The MS. describes a number of skirmishes between the two armies, till at length a general engagement ensued. It was a well contested and sanguinary struggle, and ended in the defeat of the islanders. 8,000 of the *kāfirs* fell, and the Singhalese army retreated in confusion. The king and his minister, too proud to turn back,

²² Wilson's *Catal.*; Taylor's *O. H. MSS.*; Nelson's *Madura country*.

now preferred death to subjection. Mounted on his elephant, the king committed so much wanton destruction that Kṛishṇappa had to give up his idea of sparing his life, and so, when his furious antagonist was cutting the trunk of his terrified elephant, he despatched him by an arrow, thereby giving him an honourable death by the hand of his peer.

The kingdom of Kandy was now at the feet of the conqueror. But Kumāra Kṛishṇa was a stranger to all the vices of a conqueror. His policy derived more solid benefit from his acts as a statesman than his achievements as a soldier. He is described as one of those rare men who deserve the praise that their virtues expanded with their fortune. He gained the affections of the Singhalese people by his judicious moderation and his careful regard for their feeling. His generous mind held the health of the wounded and the deformed as the object of his special concern. His conscience, guided by the orthodox clergy, ordered that the deceased should be given the honour of state mourning. Placed on an elephant, his body was taken to the capital to receive the proper funeral ceremonies. The combination of clemency with conquest and of moderation with success, elevated the character of Kṛishṇappa in the eyes of mankind, and had the salutary effect of not only pacifying the injured nation, but inducing it to positively invite the conqueror to their capital. He proceeded thither, and during his three days' stay there, made arrangements for the government of the conquered lands. "He sent the late king's family and household, inclusive of children, to a town called Aurangam, in former times the site of royal residence, (probably Anuradhapur) where they were supplied with all necessaries." (Tayl. III, 185). He then appointed his brother-in-law Vijayagôpāla Nāidu as his Viceroy, and left Ceylon for his kingdom, conscious of the superior work he had done and sure of his memory being cherished by men. On his way home, the generous monarch, it is said, showered largesses on various temples to expiate the slaughter of the war.

Its temporary nature.

Such is the account of the celebrated triumph attributed to Kṛishṇappa by the *Sinhāladvīpa Kathā*. As has been already mentioned its genuineness has been questioned, but accepted by the historians. But whatever differences may exist in regard to the actual events of the war, there can be no difference in regard to the relations between the two powers thereafter. We do not hear, either in the Madura chronicles or in the chronicles of Ceylon, any mention of such intercourse. At any rate, though this MS. clearly says to the contrary, we do not see it stated anywhere else that the ruler of Kandy acknowledged the Madura ruler. Nor do we hear of any viceroys. The fact thus seems to be that Vijaya Gôpāl Nāik was a temporary officer. He must either have been replaced by a member of the Singhalese royal family or must have been driven out by force. We cannot say when, if so, the Madura viceroy was replaced or driven out. Probably it was in the last period of Kṛishṇappa's rule or, more probably, after his death. However it was, there is no doubt that, when once it was done, the Kandy chiefs hardly recognised the Madura supremacy. Kṛishṇappa's triumph, then, was a momentary affair.

Kṛishṇappa as a ruler.

The rest of the reign of Kṛishṇappa was one of peace, and we have every reason to believe, of prosperity. The people enjoyed the fruits of a strong and paternal government. Their contribution to the State coffers was not excessive, and their material condition, thanks to the large number of irrigation works which Viśvanātha had constructed and which Kṛishṇappa continued, was one of prosperity. The feeling of discontent was conspicuous by its absence, and Kṛishṇappa signalised his peaceful rule by building a couple

of villages after his own name, one to the east of Palamkoṭṭah (Pālayamkōṭṭai) and the other to the West of Tinnevely.²² He adorned and beautified these with Siva and Vishṇu temples, with well-built Brahman *agraharams* and well-rivetted *teppakkuḷams*. A visitor to the former of these villages will not be surprised at Kṛishṇappa's choice of its site for his work of building and charities. A few furlongs off, across a plain landscape, lie the tiny but scattered rocks of Redḍiampatti. In the south-east and on the western side the hill of Mēlappatti forms a similar outpost. To the North lie the Valanāḍ rocks forming a miniature watershed, the water from which forms a lake which feeds the small *teppakkuḷams* on the eastern end of the village. Situated in a picturesque situation and well furnished with irrigational facilities, Kṛishṇapuram was in reality a place worthy of colonisation. Having fixed it, Kṛishṇappa²³ built a temple dedicated to Srinivāsa and as many as 108 houses for Brahmans around and in front of it. The temple, once very rich and now poor, is a very fine structure. The front *gōpura* as well as the front *maṇḍapa* is plain and ordinary, but what is known as Virappa *maṇḍapa* inside is the glory of the shrine. The sculptures on the pillars of this *maṇḍapa* are better worked and more splendid than those of even Tinnevely. Spirited, lifelike and accurate, they will ever remain among noblest monuments of Indian artistic skill. In one is represented the Kaurava hero Kārṇa, with the Nāgāstra, thirsting for Arjuna's life-blood in his hands. In another pillar is seen the Indian Achilles, Arjuna, performing furious penance for the acquisition of Pāśupatāstra. Another lifelike portraiture represents, a local chief with his queens. The wealth of skill displayed in the general posture, the dresses and ornaments, and in other respects is exactly similar to that in the Tinnevely temple and furnish admirable examples of the type of Nāik sculpture. The statue of Manmatha with his sugar cane bows and flower arrows, the figures of Bhīma and Yudhisṭhira, etc. are all elaborately executed.

SECTION II.

Periya Virappa and Viśvanātha II. (1573-1595.)

Kumāra Kṛishṇappa died²⁴ some time in 1573, leaving behind him a high reputation for bravery and for great virtues. On his death his two sons, Peria Virappa and Viśvanā-

²² The first of these is 6 miles from Palamkoṭṭah on the Tiruchchendur road. The other can be seen from the train going from Kallaja Kuruchchi to Tenkāśi.

²³ See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1912, pp. 47 and 82; and also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 328-41 where the Kṛishṇapuram plates are described. With regard to the Kṛishṇapuram Temple, I heard a curious legend current in the place. The outer *prākāra* of it, I was told, was later on demolished by the Nawab of the Carnatic for the renewal of the Palamkoṭṭah fort, but in the course of the destruction, the Nawab's horse died suddenly, and the Nawab himself saw Allah everywhere in the Temple! He therefore discontinued the work of destruction and at the same time provided for the daily expenditure of the Temple.

²⁴ The *Pānd. Chron.* attributes it to Āṅgila Māli but the *Mirt.* MSS. to Āṅgila Kārtikai 19. The *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* and *Supple. MSS.* say that he died in A. D. 1480, *Kṛaka*, which is of course absurd. With regard to his successors the latter two authorities, as well as one of the *Mirt.* MSS., do not mention Viśvanātha II. Regarding the date also there are differences of opinion. While the *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* and *Supple. MSS.* assigns the 27 years between 1489 (*Saumya*) and 1516 (*Yara*), the *Pānd. Chron.* gives the period of 24 years from 1571 (*Āṅgila Māli*) to 1595 (*Manmatha Mārgaḍi*). A *Mirt. MS.*, on the other hand, attributes 22 years and 9 months—from *Āṅgila Kārtikai* 8. 1494 to *Manmatha Aṅga*, S. 1517. [Wheeler mentions Virappa alone and says that he ruled from 1572 to 1595; but he gives the additional information that he was two years of age when his father Kṛishṇappa died and that Nāgama Nāik and Aryanātha continued to act as regents.] The Gopippālayam inscription of Peria Virappa, dated 1573, which renews an alleged grant of Kūṇa Pāṇḍya to the Musalmans, distinctly proves that he was on the throne by 1573. For reference to this inscription see Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, 292 and II, 76 and Nelson's *Manual*.

tha II, assumed, in accordance with the custom of the day, the honours, duties and responsibilities of joint royalty. As a matter of fact, however, the administration was in the hands of Aryanātha Mudaliār. He was in reality the sovereign of the country, the nominal kings being puppets by his side and, in consequence, the tools of his will. The age, the position, and the industry of the venerable statesmen invested him with the dignity of the dictator and the authority of an autocrat. His word was, for all practical purposes, the law, and his advice a command. The historian may well criticise this attitude of Aryanātha, and condemn him as a practical usurper, who contributed to the weakness and indolence of his wards, instead of increasing their strength; but, though it is impossible to prove that he was not inspired by ambition or prompted by self-interest, yet it can be well contended that, in the assertion of his power, his intentions were perhaps not to blame. If the other men did not shine by his side, it was not his fault. His services at the same time gave him a moral strength. A terror to the elements of disorder in the land, he maintained peace, and regulated the affairs of state in their smooth and regular course. With efficiency he combined sympathy, thereby making himself the idol of all classes of people.²⁵ He conciliated the Brahmans by his munificent endowments, his liberal charities, his foundation of *agrahārams* and his patronage of religious architecture. He gratified the peasants and agriculturists by his stern control over the Polygars, and his generosity in the excavation of tanks and the construction of canals for irrigation purposes. The effect of his strong presence was seen in the fact that throughout this reign there was not a single rebellion except that of the Māvalivāṇa king. The Māvalivāṇas were, as has been already shewn, chiefs with a historic past and traditional greatness, whose ancestors had come, centuries back to the Madura district. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the parentage, the period of rule, and other details concerning the chief against whom Virappa had to march. All that we can say is that that the rebel was more bold than wise in his disaffection and rebellion. For no sooner did he take possession of Mānā-Madurai and Kālayār Kōil than Virappa promptly took the field against him, and as the *History of the Carnatic Governors* curtly puts it, conquered him and took possession of his country. Inscription 366 of 1901, which says that a certain Vānadarāyar was the agent of Virappa Nāyakkar Aiyar, evidently refers to his defeat and later loyalty.²⁷

No other event sullied the calm of Virappa's rule, and he was able to devote himself, in consequence, like the rest of his line, to the foundation of *agrahārams* for Brahmans and the construction of religious as well as military architecture. To him is attributed the erection of the wall which encompass the famous shrine²⁸ of Chidambaram. He was also the builder of "the Kambattḍi Maṭṭapam," beautiful and stone-pillared edifice in the Sunder-śvara temple²⁹ of Madura. It was finished, as an inscription in one of its pillars says, in S. 1505 (*Subhānu*), i. e., 1583 A. D. The pillars are highly sculptured with Paurāṇic scenes and figures, and display, like the other buildings of the age, that extraordinary patience and that masterly skill, which characterised the artists of the 16th and 17th centuries. In military architecture, Virappa achieved an equal distinction. He constructed the southern walls of the Trichinopoly fort and the fortress of Aruppakkōṭṭai.³⁰

²⁵ The *Mirt.* MSS. give ample proof of this.

²⁷ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 33.

²⁸ *Hist. of the Carna. Govts.*

²⁹ *Mad. Epigr. Rep.*, 1905-6, para. 60; *Ibid* 1907-8, p. 69. The latter is in Telugu, but a Tamil copy of it is added to the inscription. See also Sowell's *Antiquities*, I, 295 and II, 77.

³⁰ Taylor ridiculously translates it into "An Arab fort." He believed that it might be Elmiseran or Tiruverambur. But Aruppak Kōṭṭai is really a town, 50 miles west by north of Rāmnād, and 28 miles south of Madura, with a population of about 12,000. (*Madras Manual* III, p. 346).

Virappa's relations with the Emperor.

A word may be said about the relations between the Emperor and Virappa. At the time when Virappa came to the throne Tirumala was on the imperial throne, and adorned it for the next five years. In 1578 he gave place to his son and successor Sri Raṅga I., and he, in turn, eight years later, to Vēkaṭapati I. (1586-1615). Virappa was thus the contemporary of three imperial suzerains. And it is certain that he paid, in theory at least, the allegiance due to them. Throughout the time when the emperors were waging desperate and futile wars with the Muhammadan powers of Golconda and Bijapur—wars which resulted in the loss of the northern provinces and in the transfer of the capital from Peṇukoṇḍa to Chandragiri—and throughout the time when Rāja Uḍayār was skilfully expanding his estate into a kingdom by a judicious combination of opposition and conciliation towards the Srīraṅgaṭṭam Viceroy, and when nearer at hand Achyutappa of Tanjore and Vēkaṭappa (1570-80) and his son Varadappa Nāik (1580-1620) of Gingi, were doing the same, Virappa was pursuing evidently the same policy of obedience and expediency. Inscription 187 of 1895 says distinctly that Virappa was the feudatory of Srīraṅga and inscription 13 of 1891, which records a grant by him in 1588, mentions him as a subordinate of Vēkaṭa. A Krishṇapuram²¹ inscription of 1578 also recognizes him as a vassal of Srīraṅga. While a Kumbakonam grant²² of 1590 by Vēkaṭapati endowed a number of villages in Tinnevely to a Vaiṣṇava shrine under the management of one Krishṇadās. Two years later again²³ Vēkaṭa made a grant to the Tirukkaraṅguḍi temple in the same district, and in 1601 a grant to the Bhāshyakāta shrine in the Madanagōpāla temple of Madura. (Insen. 35 of 1908).

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

THE BHAIMIPARINAYA-NATAKAM, BY MANDIKAL RAMA SASTRI.¹

THE story of Nala and Damayanti is what critics of a certain ill-natured school would call "a well-worn theme." It would be more just to say that it is one which has a perennial hold on the interest of India by reason of its merits, on the one hand as a tale of broad human emotions and experiences, and on the other hand as a narrative singularly in harmony with the peculiar Hindu imagination and view of moral law. It will be a sad day for India—a day which we hope will never arise—when a Hindu audience will fail to hear with respectful interest tales such as those of Nala and Sāvitrī. And therefore we are glad to see a scholar whose previous literary career might have been expected to predispose him towards a theme more academic or at least more limited in its interest taking up this catholic story of love, joy, and sorrow—and, we may add at once, handling it so well.

Pandit Maṇḍikal Rāma Śāstri—as he informs us in the preamble put into the mouth of the *sūtra-dhāra*, which is not remarkable for reserve—is the son of Vēkaṭa-subbayya Śāstri, a Śrōtriya Brah-

man of the Rāthītara family. After studying the Vēda, logic, grammar, and stylistic, he became a specialist in the Advaita philosophy, and has written several works, among them being the *Ārya-dharma-prakāśikā*, a treatise on Indian religion. Some time ago he was appointed to the office of Sanskrit Pandit in the Maharaja's College at Mysore, and still holds that post. Having now attained to mature years, he has sought for a theme fit "to purify the tongue"; and he has happily chosen the "holy tale" of Nala, which he has presented in the form of a Sanskrit drama in ten acts, embracing the whole story from the beginning of Nala's passion for Damayanti down to their reunion after their separation in the forest, and the recovery of his kingdom by Nala. He has handled the material, not in the ponderous and artificial style so sadly common among modern *pandits*, but with an agreeable lightness and simplicity of touch that make reading a pleasure, and breathe a spirit of fresh life into the ancient forms of classical style. Mr. K. Srinivāsa Rāo contributes an English introduction to the book, which is published under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

L. D. BARNETT.

²¹ Sewall's *Antiquities*, II, 76.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹ Pp. xxiv, 258, III, Mysore, 1914. 8°.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

By Dr. L. P. TESSITORI, BIKANER.

(Continued from p. 7.)

APPENDIX.

SELECTED SPECIMENS FROM OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI TEXTS.

1. The Different Vocations of the Four Sons of the Merchant Dhanāvaha.

[From the *Vidyāvilāsacaritra* by Hīrāṇandasūri (Samvat 1485=A.D. 1429), MS. No. 732 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

तिणि पुरि निवसई सेडि धनावह	धर्मी नइ धनवन्त ।
पदमसिरी तस परणी भणीइ	सहिजिई ⁴⁶ अतिगुणवन्त ॥ ४ ॥
तस परि नन्दन च्यारि निरूपम	पहिलउ ⁴⁷ धुरि धनसार ।
बीजउ बन्धव बहुगुण बीजइ	बुद्धिवन्त ⁴⁸ गुणसार ।
बीजु ⁴⁹ मूरतिवन्तु [गुण] सागर	सागर जेम गम्भीर ।
चउयउ बन्धव सुणि धनसागर	सगर ससाहस धीर ॥ ५ ॥
एक दिवस ते च्यारइ ⁵⁰ नन्दन	रमति ⁵¹ करन्ता रुझि ।
बापि बीलाव्या कह किम मुभ परि	भार धरेसिउ सुम्हि ।
पहिलउ ⁵² वेउउ नन्दन बीजइ	हूँ परि मरिउसु हाट ।
बीजउ बीजइ प्रवहण पूरी	आणिसु ⁵³ सोवनपाट ⁵⁴ ॥ ६ ॥
बीजउ बीजइ [...] पर तणी	हूँ गो ⁵⁵ चारिसि तात ।
चउयउ बीजइ सुलजित वाणी	सुणि प्रभु मीरी वात ।
कजेणी नउ मारी राजा	जेकस सर्व स्वराज ।
इणि ⁵⁶ परि बाप तणी हूँ सारिसि	मनवञ्छित सवि काज ॥ ७ ॥
एह वचन निसुणी नइ कुपीउ	जुहुँ ⁵⁷ विसि जोइ ⁵⁸ सेडि ।
रीसाणउ बीजइ रे बालक	राती कीधी द्वेडि ।
राय बीलान्तिई तीणइ अवसरि	दीधी तास चपेट ।
[ते] मुभ परि म रहिसि रे जम्पउ	पर हूँति ⁵⁹ पूरि ⁶⁰ पेट ॥ ८ ॥
इणि ⁶¹ परि देखी बाप पराभव	धनसागर सुपवित्त ।
मोन धरी मन माहि मीसरिउ ⁶²	नयर बारि चलचित्त ⁶³ ॥

2. The Same Story according to Another Recension.

[From the *Vidyāvilāsacaritra* by Nyāyasundara (Samvat 1516=A.D. 1460), contained in a MS. kindly procured to me by the Jainācārya Śrī Vijaya Dharma Śāri].

तिणि नयरी निवसइ धनवन्त । सेडि धनावह जगि जयवन्त ।	
पद्मश्री छइ तेह नी नारि । निरूपम सील कला भण्डार ⁶⁴ ॥ १७ ॥	
तिणि जाया छइ च्यारइ पुत्त । लक्षणवन्ता सगुण निरुत्त ।	
नामहि पहिलउ धन धनसार । बीजउ सागरवत्त कुमार ॥ १८ ॥	
बीजउ गुणसागर गम्भीर । चउयउ धनसागर वरवीर ।	
रङ्गउ रमता च्यारइ कुमर । दीठा बापि ⁶⁵ जिसा इइ अमर ॥ १९ ॥	
परीख्या काजि ⁶⁶ बुलावि ⁶⁷ तात । निसुणउ ⁶⁸ वच्छ अम्हारी वात ।	
तुम्ह नई आपउ ⁶⁹ निज घर भार । करिस्वउ किमु ⁷⁰ घर नउ व्यापार ॥ २० ॥	

⁴⁶ सहिजिई. ⁴⁷ पहिलु. ⁴⁸ बुद्धिवन्त. ⁴⁹ बीजउ. ⁵⁰ च्यारि. ⁵¹ रमलि. ⁵² पहिलु. ⁵³ आपिस.
⁵⁴ सोवनपाट. ⁵⁵ गोफ. ⁵⁶ इणि. ⁵⁷ दुह. ⁵⁸ जोइ. ⁵⁹ हूँसि. ⁶⁰ पूरितु. ⁶¹ इणि. ⁶² नीसरीउ.
⁶³ चलचित्त. ⁶⁴ निरूपम. ⁶⁵ बाप. ⁶⁶ काज. ⁶⁷ बुलावइ. ⁶⁸ निसुणी. ⁶⁹ आपु. ⁷⁰ किसउ.

धनसागर तब बोलइ इसउ । सेठि तणइ कुलि वरतइ जिसउ ।
 जलपल्लमण्डल बह विवसाउ । धनउ[त]पति नउ एह उपाव⁷¹ ॥ २१ ॥
 बीजउ पभणइ सागरदत्त । सौमनि तात वात इकचित्त ।
 विणजहि लागइ भोखिम घणा । ए छइ धेल घणा धन तणा ॥ २२ ॥
 करसण सहसगुणउत्तपत्ति⁷² । ईणइ⁷³ बाधइ घरि सम्पत्ति ।
 बोलइ गुणसागर इम जाँणि । हानी करम किम इन वखाँणि ॥ २३ ॥
 ओलग कीयइ⁷⁴ राजा तणी । तउ परि बाधइ सम्पत्ति घणी ।
 तउ बोलइ धनसागर जाँणि । वय लहुडउ पणि वडउ प्रमोणि ॥ २४ ॥
 परवसि विण किम ओलग होइ । जिहो परवसि तिहो निवृत्ति न होइ ।
 राजा मारी जेहस राज । सवि साधिसु मनवाडिछत काज ॥ २५ ॥
 धन कारणे जगि बहुअ नर उद्यम विवध करन्ति ।
 ते काई कीजइ किसउ⁷⁵ जिणि सवि कज्ज सरन्ति ॥ २६ ॥
 रुनिवड पेडा चोटडउ नवि भरीइ भण्डार ।
 कुभ न भरीइ तउ किमइ डार पडइ सो वार ॥ २७ ॥
 सौमत्थिम जे राज विण ते सौमत्थिम जोइ ।
 जे परमत्थ निहानीइ लूण विहूण रसोइ ॥ २८ ॥
 पुत्र वयण इम सौमली तउ मनि हूवउ ससङ्क ।
 जइ ए बोलिसी बोल हिव कुल आणिसि कलङ्क ॥ २९ ॥
 जोइ न कुण कुल आपणउ अस राखी मनि आस ।
 परि बाधइ वज्जामणउ बाहरि लील विलास ॥ ३० ॥
 आप समाणउ जीपीइ कीजइ कुल आचार ।
 जे नर जाणइ एतलउ ते साचि जागमार ॥ ३१ ॥
 धनसागर पभणइ बली कइ⁷⁶ कुलवडूण⁷⁷ कज्ज ।
 जे नर खोडइ आगना तास तणा ए रज्ज ॥ ३२ ॥
 साहसतेजि समत्थ⁷⁸ नर ते लहुडा न कहाइ ।
 जिम पणघोरअन्धार विण वाते जिम पुन्नाइ (?)⁷⁹ ॥ ३३ ॥
 तुम्ह पुत्तह विण अम्ह सरइ⁸⁰ जिणि आवइ कुल गालि ।
 तिणि सोनइ कीजइ किसउ⁸¹ कौनज चोडइ आनि ॥ ३४ ॥
 तुझ संगति रुडी नही जिहो भावइ तिहो जाइ ।
 सूकइ काटइ बलन्तडि⁸² नीला फेडइ डाइ ॥ ३५ ॥
 नीसरियउ निस भरि कुमर एकजडउ वरवीर ।
 तेजी न सहइ ताजणउ साहस जोइ सरीर ॥ ३६ ॥

3. The Monkey and the Wedge.

[From the *Pañcākhyāna*, a metrical rifacimento of the *Hitopadeśa*, contained (1st tantra only) in the MS. No. 106 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

अव्यापारेषु व्यापारं यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति⁸³ ।

स एव निधनं याति कीर्लोत्पादीव वानरः ॥ ७२ ॥

इमनक कहि⁸⁴ ते किम इई वात । कह⁸⁵ करडक ते माहरा भान ।

खित्री एक रहिउ पुरि जेणि । वन⁸⁶ मौ गढ मण्डाविउ तेणि ॥ ७३ ॥

तिहो जाकड विहरइ सूतार । बिपुहरे जेमवा⁸⁷ नी वार ।

काठ विचई खीजी देई बल्या । वनि भमना वानर तिहो मिला ॥ ७४ ॥

⁷¹ उपाव. ⁷² सहस. ⁷³ इण. ⁷⁴ कीइ. ⁷⁵ किसे. ⁷⁶ कि. ⁷⁷ कुलवडूण. ⁷⁸ समय.

⁷⁹ This verse is so corrupted that I do not see how to restore it. Possibly the fault lies in the second जिम, which word was erroneously substituted by the amanuensis for some different word (or words) in the original.

⁸⁰ सरख. ⁸¹ कीसु. ⁸² बलंतडइ. ⁸³ इच्छति. ⁸⁴ कहइ. ⁸⁵ कहउ. ⁸⁶ धन. ⁸⁷ जिमवा.

ताणी हाथ सुखई ते करी । वार बे⁸⁹ वार ते नीसरी ।
 बिहूँ पाटीआ⁹⁰ विवि अथठान । कपि चम्पाणउ मूयड तान ॥ ७५ ॥
 अयापार एह कारणइ छाँडेवई गुणवन्ति ।
 जेह न छाँडइ जाँणतां ते आपव पामान्ति ॥ ७६ ॥

4. The Weaver as Viṣṇu.

[From the same].

सुगुप्तस्यापि रम्भस्य ब्रह्माप्यन्तं न गच्छति ।

कौलिकी⁹⁰ विष्णुरूपेण राजकन्यां निवेवते⁹¹ ॥ ३३२ ॥

कहि रमनक बन्धव नइ वली । राजकन्या⁹² कौलिकि किम वरी ।
 एक नयरी कौलिक⁹³ छइ सार । तेह नइ मन्वि एक सूतार ॥ ३३३ ॥
 तिणइ⁹⁴ नयरी एक देवप्रासाद । जावमहोत्सव इइ बइ नाव ।
 ते जीवा नइ राजकुंयारि । आवइ देहरइ बइ परिवारि ॥ ३३४ ॥
 ते कौलिकि दीठी आवती । रम्भाकपि⁹⁵ नौमि श्रीमती ।
 देखी मूर्छा पामिड तेह । तउ सूतारि बोलाविड एह ॥ ३३५ ॥
 नवि बोलाइ नइ धयड अचेत । परि आणी नइ बाजिउं चेत ॥
 पूछइ निव तुभ नइ सिउं धयड । कहि तउ⁹⁶ कोई कारण कहवें ॥ ३३६ ॥
 कहि⁹⁷ कौलिक सिउं पूछइ आत । ए कारण नी खोटी बात ।
 राजकन्या मई दीठी जिसई । हई मोहिउं⁹⁸ तेणीयई तिसिई ॥ ३३७ ॥
 ते विण घडी रही नवि सकवें । न बीसरइ ते मुभ मनि थिकवें ।
 कहि⁹⁹ सूतार म आणिसि खेइ । ते मेलवें हई माने वेद ॥ ३३८ ॥
 कौलिक कहि कन्या जिहां रहइ । पवन प्रवेश तिहीं नवि जहइ ।
 तउ तू मुभ नइ किम मेलवइ । सुखिबल माहरवें जोजे हवइ ॥ ३३९ ॥
 घडिउ गुरुड खीनी संचारि । सङ्ग चक्र सिउं देव मुरारि ।
 कौलिक रूप नारायण साँम । खीनी तणई देखाडिउं ठौम ॥ ३४० ॥
 चडी गुरुड खीनी चालवइ । ऊडिउ गुरुड साँम नइ समइ ।
 जई बइठउ कुमरी नइ मालि । निद्रावसि इइ छइ बाल ॥ ३४१ ॥
 जई कौलिक बोलावइ खेवि । सूती कइ जागइ¹⁰⁰ छइ देवि ।
 हई निश्चय छउं देव मुरारि । मुभ सिउं [हवइ] विषयसुख सारि ॥ ३४२ ॥
 समुद्रसुता मेली नइ डुरि । हई तुभ मिलावा आविड भूरि ।
 गुरुडवाहन शङ्कु [नइ] चक्र । कौस्तुभमणि नइ स्वौन विधिच ॥ ३४३ ॥
 हेली सेजि थकी ऊतरइ । कर जोडी नइ बीनति² करइ ।
 हई अपविचक्राया माणखी । एह वेह नही तुम्ह सारिखी ॥ ३४४ ॥
 तू तौ विभुवन नउ भूपाल । तुभ नइ सहू पूजइ ब्याल ।
 कहि कौलिक मम राधा नारि । ते सिउं माणस नही संसारि ॥ ३४५ ॥
 कहइ कन्या प्रभु तुभ नइ गमइ । तु जई माँगउ मुभ तात कन्हइ ।
 माँणसट्टि न जाँवें³ अम्हे । देव साखि हूँ⁴ वरवई तुझे ॥ ३४६ ॥
 रही राति ते गुरुडइ⁵ चडिउ । को नवि देखइ निम ऊतरिउ ।
 कौलिक इम ते नित भोगवइ । दिन आपणा सुखई नीगवइ⁷ ॥ ३४७ ॥
 कन्याभङ्गि दीठा नख वन्त । कुञ्जुकनर कहि⁸ आविड अन्त ।
 राय प्रतई ते नर बीनवइ । अम्हे न जाँणउ स्वामी हवइ ॥ ३४८ ॥
 तेडी राय राँणी नइ कहइ । सुणि प्रिया तवें [...?] कोई जहइ ।
 तेह नइ रुठउ जाँणे जम । राय विचार करइ तव इम⁹ ॥ ३४९ ॥

⁸⁹ वि. ⁹⁰ पाटीआ. ⁹¹ कौलिकी. ⁹² निवेवते. ⁹³ कौलिक. ⁹⁴ कोकिल. ⁹⁵ तीव्रइ.
⁹⁶ रम्भरूपि. ⁹⁷ तू कहइ तउ. ⁹⁸ कहइ. ⁹⁹ मोहिउं. ¹⁰⁰ जागिउ. ¹ हूँ.
² बीनती. ³ हूँ. ⁴ जाँवें. ⁵ हूँ. ⁶ गुरुडि. ⁷ सुखि भोगवइ (sic). ⁸ कहइ. ⁹ The line is faulty.

तउ राणी आप्या जोइवा । नर ना स्पर्श सीत्र अभिनवा ।
 रे रे बुटि दुपचारिणी । ए सिउं कान कीधुं पापिणी ॥ ३५० ॥
 जोई नीचवें जणणी नइ कहइ । विष्णुरूपि¹⁰ आवी नइ रहइ ।
 करइ ते[ह] माणस सिउं वात । हरषवदन तव हई¹¹ मात ॥ ३५१ ॥
 जई राय नइ प्रछन्नगति जई । निरखइ बइठा छांना रही ।
 विष्णुरूप ते गरुडइ चडी । आवी गउखी रहइ ते पडी ॥ ३५२ ॥
 देखी राय राणी प्रति कहइ । विष्णुरूप सह व्यापी रहइ ।
 मन नौ काज करीसइ कोडि । सवि भूपति रहसइ¹² कर जोडि ॥ ३५३ ॥
 एह जमाई तणइ प्रसादि । मोटा सिउं सही कीजइ वाइ ।
 सर्व देस सीमाई तणा । राय करवा मोंडइ आपणा ॥ ३५४ ॥
 ते सीमाडा विपह काजि । आवी रक्षा ते राय नइ पासि ।
 नयरपोलि देवरावइ राय । सह को आकुल व्याकुल थाय¹³ ॥ ३५५ ॥
 राय कुमरी नइ कहावि इसिउं । तउ बेटी नउ महिमा किसिउं¹⁴ ।
 ए जमाई छतई मुझ दुख । नर बीजा¹⁵ किम लहिसइ¹⁶ सुख ॥ ३५६ ॥
 आविउ कोलिक जव धई राति । कुमरी कहइ ते सपली वात ।
 तुम्ह जमाई छतई मुझ तात । शत्रु तणउ ते किसउ उतपात ॥ ३५७ ॥
 कहइ कोलिक ए साचवें सुणउ¹⁷ । हवइ जोए महिमा मुझ तणउ ।
 देवि¹⁸ सुदर्शन चक्र प्रमाणि । वयरी नइ परि पाडवें हाणि ॥ ३५८ ॥
 ते कोलिक मन मोंहइ¹⁹ धरइ । जउ वयरी रा नउ पुर हरइ ।
 तउ ए स्त्री विरहउ मुझ थाइ । इसिउं विमासी कोलिक जाइ ॥ ३५९ ॥
 ते थिन्तइ निजवर मोंहि जई²⁰ । इसिउ उपाय करवें हूँ²¹ सही ।
 गुरुडि चडी ह रहवें आकासि । ब्यारइ वयरी जासिइ नासि ॥ ३६० ॥
 वासवदेववाहन तणउ²² गरुड विचारइ भेद ।
 प्रणमी प्रभु नइ इम कहइ वाच सुणउ मुझ देत ॥ ३६१ ॥
 कोलिक मरण अङ्गीकरी करइ तुम्ह नइ लेख ।
 पूजा नही करइ पाधरी नही मानइ वली कोय²³ ॥ ३६२ ॥
 कृष्ण²⁴ कहि²⁵ तेणइ गरुडि तू जई संक्रमि खगराय ।
 हूँ²⁶ कोलिककाया वसवें इम ते काज कराय²⁷ ॥ ३६३ ॥
 विष्णु गरुड बेह²⁸ संक्रमइ । वयरी ना दल ऊपरि भमइ ।
 आगइ चरिच सुरयो तसु तर्णी । नाठो²⁹ वयरी जायइ घणौ ॥ ३६४ ॥
 गगन थकी कोलिक कतरइ । महिमवन्त³⁰ थिउ राय नइ मिलइ ।
 राइ मन्त्रि सीठउ जव तेय । तव कोलिक [सिउं] छुडिउ भेय ॥ ३६५ ॥
 ए इसिउं कहउ³¹ किम ते इइउं³² । धुरि थी सवि तेणइ इम कहिउं³³ ।
 शत्रु हरया तणउ गुण जाणि । राय किसी[इ] न कीधी ताणि ॥ ३६६ ॥
 राजा रीक्षिउ करिउ पसाय । सह साखइ परनावइ राय ।
 देस गाम आप्या हितकरी । कोलिकि राजकन्या [इम] वरी ॥ ३६७ ॥

5. King Datta cannot escape the Fate Predicted to him by Kalikacarya.

[From Somasundarasūri's commentary on Dharmadāsa's *Uvāśamāld* (gāthā 105), contained in a MS. kindly supplied to me by the Jainācārya Śrī Vijaya Dharma Sūri, Sampvat 1567—A.D. 1511].

तुरुमिणी नगरीई इत्त ब्राह्मणि महन्तइ राज्य आपणइ वासि करी आगिलु जितशत्रु राजा कावी आपणपइ राज्य अधिष्ठिउं³⁴ । धर्म नी बुद्धिई घणा याग यज्ञिया । एक बार इत्त ना नाउला

¹⁰ विष्णुरूपी.

¹¹ हई.

¹² रहसइ.

¹³ थाइ.

¹⁴ किसिउं.

¹⁵ बीजा.

¹⁶ लहसिइ.

¹⁷ साचवें सुणउं.

¹⁸ देव.

¹⁹ मोंहि.

²⁰ जउ.

²¹ हूँ.

²² तणउं.

²³ कोइ.

²⁴ कृष्ण.

²⁵ कहइ.

²⁶ हूँ.

²⁷ कराइ.

²⁸ बेह.

²⁹ नाठा.

³⁰ महिमवन्त.

³¹ कहवें.

³² हुआ.

³³ कहिउं.

³⁴ अधिष्ठिउं.

श्रीकालिकाचार्य गुरु भाषेज राजा भणी तीणई नगरि आविया । मामउ भणी वत्त गुरु कन्ह
गिउ । याग नू फल पूछवा लागु । गुरे कहिउ जीवदया लगइ धर्म हइ । वत्त कहइ याग
नू फल कहइ । गुरे कहिउ हिंसा दुर्गति नू हेतु हइ । पेलउ कहइ आउउ को कहइ याग नू फल कहइ ।
गुरे मरण भोगी नइ कहिउ याग नू फल नरकगति कहौ । वत्त कहइ हउ नरगि जाइसु । गुरे कहिउ
कउण संवेह । सातमइ विहाडइ कुम्भी माहि पचीतउ नरगि जाएसि । सिउं अहिनाण । सातमइ विहाडइ
ताहरइ मुहि विष्टा³⁵ पडिसिइ ए अहिनाण । वत्त कहिउ तउ मरी किहौ जाइसि । गुरे कहिउ हउ देवलोकि
जाइसु । तउ वत्तिई रीसाविई गुरु पाखसी जण सूँकिया । चीतवइ छइ सातमइ विहाडइ गुरुजि मारिसु ।
इसिउं चीतवी घर माहि पडसी रहिउ । राजा मार्ग चोखलाविया । तिहाँ पुण्यप्रगर कराविया । एकई
मालीई गावइ काजि ऊपनइ विष्टा³⁵ मारगि करी ऊपरि फूल नू डालउं लोखिउं । ते वत्त आठमा विहाडा
नी भ्रान्तिई सातमइजि सिनि गुरु मारिवा नीसरिउ । घोडा नु पग विष्टा³⁵ ऊपरि पडिउ । विष्टा³⁵ ऊछली
तेह नइ मुहडइ पडी । बीहन पाछउ बलिउ । सामन्तमण्डलीके तेह ऊपरि विरक्त हूँतइ³⁶ बोधी कुम्भी माहि
[घालिउ । कुम्भी माहि] पचीतउ नरगि गिउ । सामन्ते वली आगिलु जितघनु राजा थापिउ । तीणई
श्रीकालिकाचार्य पूज्या । चारिज आराधी देवलोकि पइता ॥

6. King Çrenika and his Cruel Son Kṛṇika.

[From the same, gāthā 149.]

राजगृह नगरि ओणिक राजा । चिहणा पहराणी । तेह नइ एक वार गनि पुत्र ऊपनु । पाछिला भव
ना बइराणु सम्बन्ध भणी गर्भ नई महास्त्रियई भरतार नौ आँच खावा नु डोहलउ ऊपनु । अभयकुमार
मुहन्तई कारिमा आँच खरावी डोहलउ पुरिउ । जातमात्र बेडउ ऊकरइ लैखाविउ । तिहाँ तेह नी
आँगुली कुकुडई लगारेक करडी । ओणिक महाराई पाछउ परि अणाविउ । अशोकचन्द्र नाम दीधउ ।
तेह नी आँगुली कुही । ते रोयइ । आँगुली ओणिक राय पिरु वहती मोह लगइ मुहँडइ
घाँतइ । ते बेडउ रीतु रहइ । आँगुली साजी यई । आँगुली कुही भणी तेह हई बीजउं नाम
कोणी इसिउं प्रसिद्ध हउं । इसिइ अभयकुमार मुहन्तई रीसा लीधी पुठिई ओणिक महाराई
कोणी हई राज्य देवा बाँछतई पहिलउंजि सम्बन्ध नी परीक्षा देवता नु आपिउ हार अनइ अवधितानी
सेचनक हाथीउ. एतला वानी हल्ल विहल्ल बेथी³⁷ हई आपियाँ । कोणी नइ मनि मस्सर, ऊपनु । सामन्त
सपलाइ आपणइ बसि करी बाप काठपञ्जरि³⁸ घाती राज्य लीधउं । बाप हई नित पाँच पाँच सई
नाडीए मरावइ । इसिइ कोणी राय नइ बेडउ जायु छइ । ते खोलइ लेई कोणी राय जिमवा बइउउ ।
बेटई भाणा माहि सूँचिउं । ते पहरुं करी जिमवा लागु । कोणी राय चिहणा माय हई कहइ मात सीठउं
तई माहरा बेडा ऊपरि स्नेह । चिहणा मात रीवी कहइ सिउ ताहक स्नेह । ताहरा बाप हई नू ऊपरि
एवडउ स्नेह हूँतउ ताहरी कुही आँगुली पिरु वहती आपणइ मुखि धाततउ । ते बात जाणी कोणी राय
नइ मनि पश्चात्ताप हूउ । कुटार लेई बाप नी आडीलि भोजिवा गिउ । रखवाल आवी ओणिक हई
कहिउं । ओणिक महाराय चीतविउं न जाणीई ए वली कुण हई कदर्यना मारिसिइ । एह भणी तालुपुट
विस खाई मूउ । भागइ आऊछा बाँधा भणी पहिली नरकपृथ्वीई गिउ । कोणी राय हई महापश्चात्ताप
हूउ । पछइ कोणी राय हल्ल विहल्ल भाई नइ कीधई चेडा महाराय सिउं महायुद्ध करी पाप ऊपाज्जी³⁹
छडी नरकपृथ्वीई गिउ ॥

7. Jain Aseetics live like the Bees.

[From a commentary on the *Dasaveyāliyasutta*, contained in the MS. No. 557,
in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

धम्मो मज्झिमसुत्तं ।⁴⁰ धम्मं सर्वोत्तमं माज्झनिकं हइ⁴¹ । किंवि⁴² । जीवदया १ संयम १७ भेद [२]
तप १२ भेद ३ एह जिई प्रकारि मीहि सपलाइ⁴³ धम्मं ना भेद अवतरई । फलमाह । जेह जीव रहई धम्मं
नई विषई सदा मन हइ⁴⁴ देवइ⁴⁵ ते प्रतिई नमस्कारई ॥ १ ॥ जहा⁴⁶ । जिम भमर वृक्ष नौ फूल नई
विषई रस थोडु थोडु पीई जेणइ रीतई फूल क्रमाई नही भमर आपणपू पीति पमाडई ॥ २ ॥ एवमे⁴⁷ ।

³⁵ विष्टा.

³⁶ MSS., representing all nasals by a mere dot, it is difficult to decide whether in the present case we should read हूँतइ or हन्तइ.

³⁷ बेडा.

³⁸ काठ^०.

³⁹ ऊपाज्जी,

⁴⁰ I omit here the Sanskrit paraphrase of the Prakrit text, which is also given in the MS.

⁴¹ हइ.

⁴² सपलाइ.

⁴³ हइ.

⁴⁴ देवइ.

एणई प्रकारई भमरा तणी परई थोडउ थोडउ आहार लेता भमण महात्मा कहा लोक मोहिं जे जैनसाधु वत्तई ते फूल नई विपई भमरा नी परि आहार लिई⁴⁵ गृहस्थ नई अन्तराय न रूपजई आपणउ⁴⁶ निर्वोह करई। किंविशिष्टाः साधवाः। सीधूं भात तेह नी एणया शुद्धि नई⁴⁷ विपई रत⁴⁸ आसक्त छई भमरा अणसीधूं लिई साधु सीधूं सुशतुं लिई एतलउ⁴⁹ विशेष जाणिवउ ॥ ३ ॥ वयं च⁵⁰। जीणई प्रकारई कोइ गृहस्थ पीडा न वामई तेणई प्रकारई अम्हे वृत्ति प्राणाधार आहार लई⁵¹ ईणि बुद्धिई साधु ऋषीश्वर गृहस्थ तणई परि आपहणी नीपना आहार नइ विपइ जाई जिन भमरा आपहणी नीपनी फूल नई विपई जाई ॥ ४ ॥ महकार⁵² ॥ जे साधु कुणह तणी निआ रहित इई ते ऋषीश्वर अन्वाहार लइवा तु⁵³ मयुकर सरीखा इई। किवि⁵⁴। तत्त्व⁵⁵ तथा जाण छई। पुनः किवि⁵⁶। नाना प्रकार गृहस्थ तणई घरे पिण्ड आहार⁵⁷ नई विपई रत आसक्त छई। तेणि कारणि इस्या साधु कहीई इस्थं तीर्थकार तणई वचनई अध्ययन तणी समाप्ति इ बोलूं ॥ ५ ॥

8. The Meaning of "Arihanta".

[From a commentary on the *Pañcanamokkhāra*, contained in the MS. No. 580 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence].

नमो अरिहन्ताय। अरिहन्त नई माहकं नमस्कार इ⁵⁸। किस्या⁵⁹ छई ते अरिहन्त। रागद्वेषकपिया [अ]रि वयरी हण्या छई जेहे ते "अरिहन्त"। वली किशा छई। चउसहि⁶⁰ इन्द्र तणी नीपजावी पूजा इई योग्य थाई। किशा ते इन्द्र। बीस भवनपति बीस विन्तरेन्द्र रस देवलोक ना बि चन्द्र बि सूर्य ए चउसहि⁶¹ इन्द्र सम्बन्धिनी पूजा इई योग्य थाई। वली अरिहन्त किशा छई। उत्पन्नकेवलज्ञान चउवीस⁶² अतिशई करी विराजमान अटमहाप्रातिहार्यसंशोभमान। किस्या ते प्रातिहार्य। अशोक-वृक्ष फूलपगार परमेश्वर नी वाणी चामरगुम्ब सिंहासन छत्रवय भामण्डल देवतुन्नुभि एहे आठ⁶³ प्रातिहार्य करी शोभायमान। तीर्थकार विहरमान पद ध्यायिवा। जिसवै स्फटिकमाणि अङ्गुरान शङ्ख कुन्द तणी पुष्प तेह नी परि धवलवर्ण श्री चन्द्रप्रभ सुविधिनाथ अरिहन्त जाणिवा। जे मोक्षपवषी ना देणहार ते अरिहन्त प्राति माहकं नमस्कार इ⁶⁴ ॥

9. Helplessness of Man in the Human Condition of Life.

[From a *bāldvabodha* to the *Ādindhadesapoddhāra*, contained in the MS. S. 1561, in the India Office Library.]

संसार माहि नयी मुख जन्मजरामरणशोके करी तथा तउहइ ते मिथ्यास्वई अन्ध⁶⁵ जीव न करई श्रीजिनेन्द्र नउ वर धर्म। १। मायावी इन्द्रजालीया सरीखु बीजचमस्कार शबका सरीखउ सर्व सामान्य माचई क्षण माहि सीउवै अनइ नाउवै किसवै भव प्रतिबन्ध। २। कूण कहि नइ सगवै कूण पर भवसमुद्र-भरणमि⁶⁶ माला नी परई भमई जीव मिलई वली जाई अतिवृत्त। ३। जन्मि जन्मि स्वजन नी श्रेणि मूकी जेतली जीवई तेतली सर्वाकाशि एकटी करी न माई। ४। जीवई भावि भवि मेल्हिया देह जेतली संसारि तेह सपलाई⁶⁷ सागरोपमे करी कीजइ संख्या तु अनन्तेहि⁶⁸ न थाई। ५। त्रैलोक्य सपलउ⁶⁹ अघरण छइ होइइ विविधयानि माहि पइसतू नासतूइ हेतवै न छुइइ जन्मजरामरणरोग नउ। ६। छाँडी नइ स्वजनवर्ग घर नी लक्ष्मी नउ विस्तार सपलउइ संसार अपारावार मार्ग माहि अनाथ पन्थी नी परई जीव जाइ। ७। वाई आहणिवै पांडुरउ⁷⁰ पौनइवै तेह नउ संचय जाइ दिशे दिशे जिन बाल्हउई तिम कुटुम्ब स्वकर्मवाई आहणिवै जाइ। ८। हा देव माहरी मा हा बाप हा बान्धव भार्या बेदा वल्लभ जोतां हूतां⁷¹ सर्व मरइ कुटुम्ब सकरुण नउ⁷²। ९। अथवा कुटुम्ब माहि अतिवल्लभ व्याधि वेदनाई पीडित सलसलइ सडइइइ (? sic) व्याधि मृगुरि माहि गयउ चडकला⁷³ नउ बाल तेह नी परि। १०। स्वजन न लिई वेदना न वैद्य राखई न रक्षा करई ओषधीई मरणवापई जीव लीजइ जिम⁷⁴ हरिण नउ बालक तेह नी परई। ११। जिम तहअर नइ विपइ पैखीया विआलवेली विशि विशि तउ आख्या अनइ राखि वसी नइ जाई केवल न जाणीई केतलाइ एक केही विशि। १२। घररूपीया वृक्ष नइ विपइ सगा चिहूँ गति संसार माहि पणी विशि यी आख्या वसी नइ पञ्च दीहा पलइ न जाणीइ

⁴⁵ लिई. ⁴⁶ आपणो. ⁴⁷ न. ⁴⁸ रत. ⁴⁹ एतलो. ⁵⁰ लह. ⁵¹ लइचात. ⁵² तत्त्व.

⁵³ आहर. ⁵⁴ ह. ⁵⁵ किस्यां. ⁵⁶ चउसहि. ⁵⁷ चउसहि. ⁵⁸ चउवीस. ⁵⁹ आठ. ⁶⁰ ह. ⁶¹ अथ.

⁶² The last element in the compound is a Prakrit form borrowed from the original.

⁶³ सपलाई. ⁶⁴ Prakrit form. ⁶⁵ सपलउ. ⁶⁶ पांडुरउ. ⁶⁷ हूता. ⁶⁸ तउ. ⁶⁹ वडकला. ⁷⁰ तिम.

कीहै जाई । १३ । अर्थ धन परि निरहई (?) ⁷¹ बान्धव संगी ⁷² नउ समूह मसाणभूमि एकलउ जाइ जीव नही (?) काई अर्थ सगे रहइ को नही । १४ । सुख मरणरूपीई ऊँई जीवलीकवन अप्राप्त-फलफूल ⁷³ काचउ [खाजइ] तेह नउ प्रसरण को वारणहार नथी देवलोकि मनुष्य [लोक] अमुरलोकि । १५ । गर्भधिउ ⁷⁴ योनई नीसरिउ [नीसरतउ हैतउ] तथा नीसया पछी बालक वाधतउ हैतउ छोकरउ तरुणउ मध्यम । १६ । करडबलिउ पलिउ गाडउ डोकरउ मरणविपाकि आवइ मरण देखइ सवि ⁷⁵ कइ नई पातालि पइदउ पर्वतगुफा अटवी माहि । १७ । थलि समुद्रि पर्वतगुफा आकाशि भमतउ ⁷⁶ जीव सुखीउ ⁷⁷ दुखीउ रणीउ ⁷⁸ दालिद्री मूर्ख विद्वांस करूप । १८ । रूपवन्त व्याधीउ ⁷⁹ नीरोग दुबलउ ⁸⁰ बलवन्त न परिहरइ वन नउ दावानल नी परि जलिउ त्रसधवर ⁸¹ प्राणी जीव नउ ⁸² समूह । १९ । अर्थ लक्ष्मीई न छुडीइ ⁸³ [न] बाह नई बलई न मन्त्रतन्त्र औपधमणिविद्याई न धराइ ⁸⁴ मरण नी एकइ पडी । २० । जन्मजरामरण तीणई हण्य जीव बहु रोगशोक तीण संताप्या हीडई ⁸⁵ भवसमुद्रि दुखल नी सहस्र पामती । २१ । जन्मजरामरण [ना] आर्या जीव बाल्ही ⁸⁶ ना वियोग ते दुख ना आर्या अक्षरण मरई जाई संसार माहि भमई सदाइ । २२ । अक्षरण मरई इन्द्र बलदेव वासुदेव चक्रवर्त्ति तउ एहवडे जाणी नई करइ जीव धर्म नउ उद्यम कतावलउ । २३ । बीहामणी भवाटवीई एकलउ जीव सदाइ असखाइउ कर्मई हणित भव नी श्रेणि हीडइ अनेकरूपे करी । २४ । जिम आविउ एकलउ कन्दोरा पाखई नागउ जीव जाइसइ तिमजि एकलउ छौडी नइ सर्व । २५ । जाइ अनाथ जीव वृत्त नउ फूल जिम कर्म नई वाई हणित धन धान्य आभरण पिता पुत्र कजेव मेहली नइ । २६ ॥

10. The Kulakara Rājabha teaches the Yugalins the Art of Cooking.

[From the *Ādināthacaritra*, contained in the MS. No. 700 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

जिवारइ कपन कुलग[र]पणइ वर्त्तता तदा जुगलिआ सगलाही कन्दाहार मूलाहार पन्नाहार ⁸⁷ पुण्या-हार फलाहार करता । तिणइ प्रस्तावि सगलाही श्रविय इभु सेलडी भोजन करता तिणइ मेलि इक्काकु-वंसी लोक कहीजइ । हिबइ युगलिआ सालि आविदेई सणीधान ⁸⁸ सतरमउ एहवा १७ धान नी जाति आम काचा तुसे सहित खाता सर्व भस्म धाता सर्व जरतउ । पडता काल नइ जोगइ काचा पाका फल फूल तुस धान ⁸⁹ सर्व तुसे सहित खाता जीमता युगलिआ ⁹⁰ नइ जरइ नही पचइ नही सीरी नी अगनि मन्दी पडी माडीपडी अजीर्ण थाइवा लागा तिवारइ युगलिआ भगवन्त कन्हइ आवी कहइ । आगइ श्री कपन कहइ जुगलिआ नइ अहो युगलिआ ⁹¹ तुहे तुस धान ⁹² सर्व फली पुईल सिरा जेई नइ कर-कमल सुँ मसली कण जुड़ा ⁹³ कही आहार करउ । तिवारइ ते जुगलिआ तिमहीज करिवा लागा । इम करतही जिवारइ जरइ नही तदा हाथ सुँ मसली तण्डुला ⁹⁴ काडी पुडा माहे भीजवी नइ आहार करउ ⁹⁵ । इमही ⁹⁶ करता जरइ नही । तिवारइ तण्डुला ⁹⁷ काडी पुडा सोना माहे भीजवी तिडकइ मेल्ली जीमउ । अथ तण्डुला भीजवी तावडइ मेल्ली हाथपुट मध्ये राखी नइ आहार करउ । अथ कण काडी भीजवी तावडइ मूकी तिडकउ लगावीजइ करसम्पुडइ राखी ककला नउ ताप लगावी नइ आहार करउ ⁹⁸ । तउही जरइ नही । इम केतलउ एक काल व्यतिक्रम्यउ भयावि अगनि कपनी नथी अतिस्तिग्ध कालइ अतिक्रम कालइ अगनि कपजइ नही किंतु मध्यस्थ कालि ऊपजइ [... ⁹⁹] ते जुगलिआ इणि विधइ जेहवइ रहइ छइ तेहवइ प्रस्तावि वन माहे वाँसे वाँसे घासी नइ अगनि कपनी । तिवारइ जुगलिआ हीडी । देखी नइ भयभीत थया । भगवन्त नइ जई नइ कहइ हे स्वामी वन माहे एहवउ एक पशय नवउ कपनउ छइ ते भगवन्त कण छइ । तदा भगवन्त ज्ञानइ करी जाण्यउ अगनिपदार्थ कपनउ । जुगलिआ नइ कहइ छइ तुम्हे तिहो जाभउ आसइ पासइ तृण खड काष्ठ परिहा करउ नही तउ सर्व बालि नइ भस्म करिस्थइ अनइ वले फल फूल पुईल प्रमुख वन माहि थी ल्यावउ अगनि माहे पचउ पचइ आहार करउ । तिवारइ ते जुगलिआ वन माहि थी सिरा नी पोडली करी अगनि माहि मूकइ । ते सर्व बाली भस्म करइ । जुगलिआ भगवन्त नइ जाई कहइ ते तउ अम्होही हैती भूली भराडी ईसइ छइ पाळउ ¹⁰⁰ काई ¹⁰¹ आपइ नही । तदा भगवन्त जाण्यउ ए साचा जुगलिआ समझई काई नही विण सीखइया नही जाणइ । श्री आसीसर भगवन्त रइवाडी पथाया हाथी कपि बइसी नीली माडी आणी कइहलउ घण्टउ नीवाह पचायउ । पछइ चूल्हा नी माँडे आधारण नउ देवई धान नउ ओरिबई कतारिबई मसोतई केरकयई ¹⁰² ताँ लगइ पचनारम्भ प्रवृत्ति सर्व भगवन्तइ प्रगट करी जुगलिआ नइ दिखाली । तिवार पुडइ आज तौइ पाकारभ करिवा लागा ॥

THE END.

⁷¹ निरहई. ⁷² संग. ⁷³ अप्राप्ति. ⁷⁴ धिउ. ⁷⁵ सब. ⁷⁶ भमतउ. ⁷⁷ सुखिउ. ⁷⁸ रणीउ.

⁷⁹ व्याधीउ. ⁸⁰ दुबलउ. ⁸¹ त्रसधवर. ⁸² पउ. ⁸³ छुडीइ. ⁸⁴ धराइ. ⁸⁵ हीडइ. ⁸⁶ बाल्ही.

⁸⁷ पन्नाहार. ⁸⁸ सणीधान. ⁸⁹ धान. ⁹⁰ युगलिआ. ⁹¹ युगलिआ. ⁹² जुड़ा. ⁹³ तंडुल. ⁹⁴ करइ

⁹⁵ इमही. ⁹⁶ ज. ⁹⁷ करइ. ⁹⁸ I omit here the words ते वात गाथाई करी कहइ छइ, which are

unnecessary and intruding in the narrative. ⁹⁹ पाळउ.

¹⁰⁰ काई.

¹ None of the preceding neuter forms is nasalized in the MS.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 92.)

It may be mentioned here that the Pāṇḍyan dynasty of Teṅkāśi continued in the full plenitude of its power and glory. I have already pointed out how there is an inconsistency in the dates assigned to Ati Vira Rāma as, according to one version, he died in 1610 and, according to the Pudukkōṭṭai plates, issued by Śrī Vallabha and Varatuṅga, his reign was over by 1583, and how Mr. Kṛishṇa Sastri solved the problem for his part by believing Śrī Vallabha to be identical with, and not the brother, of Ati Vira Rāma Pāṇḍya. In any case the point to be understood is that Varatuṅga Rāma, known also by the names of Abhirāma, Sundarēśvara, and Abhishēka Vira Pāṇḍya, and equally celebrated as a poet and scholar, was king—evidently as Ati Vira Rāma's vassal. And as his coronation is said in a Teṅkāśi Gōpuram inscription to have taken place³⁴ in 1588, it is plain that the Pudukkōṭṭai plates should have been issued earlier, when he was a mere prince. Varatuṅga clearly acknowledges his allegiance to Virappa Nāik and it was at the instance of one Tirumal Nāik, a minister of the latter, that he made the grand endowment of 1583 to Brahmans. An orthodox believer in the Vēdic creed, he performed a sacrifice in 1589 thereby getting the name Dikshita, and as a Tāmil scholar he composed the *Brahmātṭarakāṇḍam*, the highly sensuous *Kokkākam*, etc. The latest date of Varatuṅga thus far available is 1595. (See *Antiquities*, I, p. 306).

SECTION III.

Viśvanātha III. and Liṅgappa or Kumāra Kṛishṇappa II. 1595-1602.

Virappa died in 1595. His brother and colleague had preceded him to the grave, and the crown therefore devolved on his eldest son, Viśvanātha III. The latter immediately chose his younger brother, Liṅgappa or Kumāra Kṛishṇappa II. as his second. As usual, the date of Viśvanātha's accession is given differently in different authorities. According to the *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* and the *Supple. MS.* (which does not mention Liṅgappa at all), Viśvanātha ruled from *Dhātu* to *Manmatha* (i. e. from S. 1438 to 1458). The *Pand. Chron.*, on the other hand, which does not mention Viśvanātha III, and says that Kumāra Kṛishṇappa succeeded Virappa, gives the period from *Manmatha Mārgaḷi* to *Pilava Chitrai*. (1595-1602); but with a curious inconsistency it says that he died (not in *Chitrai* of *Pilava* but) in *Śubhakṛt Vyākāśi*, 10. Epigraphical evidence proves the correctness of the *Pand. Chron.* An inscription of S. 1518 in the Varada-Rāja-Perumāḷ temple at Peruṅgarani refers to Kṛishṇa Bhūpa, son of Vira Bhūpa (No. 404 of 1907). A Madura copper plate grant says that Kṛishṇappa sat on the throne of Vallabha Narēndra after 33 years, i. e. 33 years

³⁴ See *Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 59, and 117-148 for other insens. regarding him. The Gōpuram inscription of Teṅkāśi describes Tirumal Nāik, as Virappa's agent, as the chief of Chintalapalli, as a devout devotee of Śrī Rāṅganātha, a great supporter of Brahmans and the employer, "in his wars, against his enemies, of iron guns which he surcharged with leaden shots." Tirumal himself had for his religious guide Tammarasa who was the real author of his religious policy. Tirumal is said to have taken part in a battle at Vallam, wherein he killed Basavarāja, who, in spite of the fact that after Tali-Kōṭṭah he had been once saved by Tirumal, had joined Vēṅkaṭarāja, and marched against Vira Rāja and Achyuta Rāja to the south. The actual events of this war are very obscure. Varatuṅga's literary activities are described in detail in Chap. XI. Inscn. 528 of 1909 belongs to the same year and seems to show that Abhirāma-dēvan Śrī Varatuṅgarāma, was the vassal or "co-regent," as Mr. Kṛishṇa Sastri says, of Ativira Rāma. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 102.

after the death of Viśvanātha I., i. e., in 1595 A.D. (Sewell's *Antiquities* II, p. 31, No. 211 of the C. P. list). Another grant of S. 1520 (*Viḷambi*, 1598 A.D.) records that he gave the village of Padmanēri (Nanguneri Taluk, Tinnevely) to certain people in the time of Vēṅkaṭapati (*Ibid.*, p. 17, C. P. list 111). A much longer plate of S. 1519 (1597 A.D., Hēṇḷambi) records that in that year, both Kumāra Krishṇappa and Viśvanātha III. ruled at Madura (*Ibid.*, II, p. 19, C. P. list 136), and gave two villages to several Vaiṣṇava Brahmans. All these inscriptions clearly say that Viśvanātha's accession took place about 1595.

Viśvanātha III is one of the most obscure figures in history. The historian is absolutely in the dark in regard to his character or conduct, his desires or ambitions. He wielded the sceptre for seven years, and nothing noteworthy seems to have happened then. The tranquillity of his rule must have been due to the same circumstance as that of the previous reign, the presence of Aryanātha. The great statesman was more than eighty at the accession of Viśvanātha. More than thirty years had elapsed since his advent into the south in the company of the first Viśvanātha. All these years he had lived a life of unceasing toil, of strenuous activity. His old friends were gone, as well as his old associations. The empire had changed its heads often; so also the kingdom whose destinies he guided. Important changes had taken place in Tanjore, in Mysore, in Jinji, and other parts of the Empire. New dynasties had come into existence, and the foundation of a new world had been laid by the advent of the Dutchman and the Englishman in the Indian seas. Indian trade was becoming an object of concern and a fertile source of diplomacy and war in the courts of Madura and Amsterdam, of Tanjore and London. The Hollander³⁵ and the Englishman were beginning to overshadow the Portuguese, and the coasts of Malabar and Mannar, of Ceylon and the south, were becoming scenes of busy trade and European rivalries. All around him the world had moved, but he remained unmoved. Like a strong and gigantic tower, which reminded the days of old and defied the lapse of time, he remained a firm and determined link with the past.

The death of Aryanātha 1600.

There is ample evidence to prove that, besides guiding the kings of Madura, he took upon himself the task of maintaining the integrity of the Empire and saving the descendants of Krishṇadēva Rāya from the shadow of neglect and danger of extinction. An interesting and valuable copper-plate grant of Liṅgayya and Viśvanātha recognizes, in unmistakable terms, the supremacy of the then emperor Vēṅkaṭapati³⁶ in 1597, though Krishṇappa wields in it the extraordinary title of Pāṇḍya-Pārthiva or Pāṇḍyan king. A similar grant of 1598³⁷ concerning a village in the Nanguneri Taluk of Tinnevely, affirms that Vēṅkaṭapati was the original donor and that Krishṇappa was a secondary one³⁸; that

³⁵ The *Sāhityaratnākara* says that the Dutch tried to land at Negapatam, but were defeated by Achyutappa Nāik. See *Tanj. Nāik Hist.*

³⁶ See Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 19 C. P. List 136. The grant is in nine plates in Nandinagari character and records a grant of two villages in the Madura district (Marudānguḷi and Korupuram) to several Vaiṣṇava Brahmans.

³⁷ Year *Viḷambi*. The village granted was Padmanēri in Tiruvādi Rājya. The plate gives an account of Viśvanātha I, Virappa (the contemporary of Varatuṅga and Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya who built a *maṇḍapa* in Miṇākāṇ's shrine and presented to the deity an armour of gold set with gems) and his son Krishṇappa who presented ornaments to the Srīraṅgam temple. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1906; Sewell's *Antiquities* II, p. 17. It may be mentioned here that further south the Teṅkāṇi dynasty was ruling. But the real personalities of the various sovereigns are a little obscure, as I have already pointed out.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17, C. P. list 111.

the imperial power was, in other words, acknowledged in the extreme south of the Peninsula. All this was not a little due to the loyalty of Aryanātha. His example, the chronicles say, guided the rulers of Mysore, Jinji and Tanjore. He in short was a great unifying force, who kept the union of the tottering empire by his loyalty and, we are led to believe, by his efficient soldiery as a generalissimo.

His greatness.

It is not surprising that when in 1600 he felt the effects³⁰ of age and toil and succumbed to death, he was widely and sincerely lamented. The emperor at Chandragiri must have felt his loss a serious one for the empire. As for Madura, it was not only a loss, but disaster. His death left a void which could hardly be filled. For more than thirty-eight years he had been the life of the young state, and given it glory and success. He had strengthened its resources, provided for its defence, beautified it with temples, secured its finances, and made it, in short, the chief power in south India. Thanks to his valour, the Nāik of Madura was master of an extensive territory, which extended from sea to sea and from the woods of Udayārpālayam to Cape Comerin. Thanks to his martial foresight, it was defended by a chain of forts and a federation of chieftains. The fierce Marava in the east and the proud king of Travancore acknowledged the allegiance of Madura, and the rival chiefs of Mysore and Tanjore could hardly penetrate the wall of forts with which its frontiers were defended. Aryanātha, in short, gave the Nāik kingdom its strength and its security, its organization and its resources. His death was therefore sincerely mourned by the dynasty which owed so much of his strength to his support, by the people who benefited so largely by his measures, by the Brahmanical clergy whose liberal patron he was, and, above all, by the large number of the Polygars, of whose political existence and happiness he was the author. His memory has been cherished with gratitude by posterity. For the Zamindars, especially the descendants of the Polygars, his name possesses a charm which age has not withered, and he is actually worshipped as their patron saint and guardian angel. The stray traveller whose interest in art and architecture carries him to the renowned temple of Madura, will notice, at the entrance to the grand thousand-pillared *manṭapam*, a fine equestrian statue of an individual, receiving homage from all classes of people who happen to visit the famous sanctuary. The humble peasant clad in rags and the proud Zamindar, driving his coach and pair, vie with each other in doing honour to that figure, and offering a garland or other gift as a mark of their reverence. Even to lay and unhistorical minds, the questions at once suggest themselves, whom that statue represents, what he was, when he lived, and what his actions were, which entitled him to the respect of the world. To the rude rustic he is an object of worship as the builder of that *manṭapam*, but to the antiquarian the statue is singularly valuable as the lifelike portrait of the illustrious statesman who, as we have already seen, was the greatest figure in the history of South India during a period of two eventful and epoch-making generations.

The deaths of Viśvanātha III. and Liṅgappa.

Viśvanātha's reign lasted for only one year after the death of his great minister. In 1601 he died leaving the sceptre to his brother, Liṅgappa or Kumāra Krishṇappa II. Liṅgappa, in accordance with the custom of the day, chose his brother Kastūri Rāṅga, a man of capacity and ambition, as Chinna Durai. The two brothers held a joint rule

³⁰ The exact date is *Chitrai* ? of *Śāraṅgī*, S. 1522.

only for a few months. For in 1602 Liṅgappa followed his brother to the grave. The dates of this series of events are of course themes of controversy, but a right and definite conclusion is easy enough. According to the *History of Carnatic Dynasties*, and *Supplementary MS.*, Viṣvanātha died in S. 1458, *Maṃmatha*, and Liṅgappa ruled for the next 17 years, from S. 1458 to S. 1475. All this is of course absurd. The *Pandyan Chronicle*, the *Mirtanjiya MSS.*, and epigraphy, on the other hand, clearly attribute the events to A. D. 1601 and 1602. The former are indeed inaccurate in mentioning Liṅgappa alone, and one of them particularly inconsistent in attributing the end of his reign to *Pilava Chitrāi* and his death to *Subhakṛit Vyakāṣi*; but this can be easily reconciled by the fact that Viṣvanātha III. died in *Pilava Chitrāi* and Liṅgappa in *Subhakṛit Vyakāṣi*.

Usurpation of Kastūri-Raṅga and Muttu Kṛishṇappa's accession.

In any case the decease of Liṅgappa was followed by a disputed succession between his son, Muttukṛishṇappa, and his brother Kastūri Raṅga. The latter had had, as has been already mentioned, a share in the administration of the kingdom as his brother's second; and having tasted power, his ambition grasped at the crown itself at the expense of the real heir. Muttu Kṛishṇa was a bare youth, and he could not make an efficient defence against the designs of his uncle. The consequence was, the latter succeeded in assuming the reins of government. The usurper, however, could not enjoy his exalted dignity for long. The illegal seizure of the crown raised a strong and influential party against him; and these vowed to resort to any means for the restoration of the crown to the regular line. They found a suitable opportunity when the king was defenceless and absorbed in his devotions in the secluded *Sandhyā vandana maṅḍapa* at Kṛishṇapura, a small town north of the Vaigai, and had him murdered, in the midst of his meditations, by hirelings. The murdered chief had sat on the throne for the short space of eight days.

It should be acknowledged however that the indigenous chronicles are not unanimous in this version. The *History of Carnatic Dynasties* ascribes to Kastūri Raṅga a reign of 17 years (S. 1458-1475, from *Dunmuki* to *Paritṭpi*), as second in power to Liṅgayya; and adds that, after the death of the latter in 1553, his son Muttu Kṛishṇappa succeeded; but as he was a child, Kastūri Raṅga ruled as sole monarch for 3 years i. e., from *Pramādhika* to *Siddhārti* (1560); and that on his death in that year Muttu Kṛishṇa came to the throne. It would thus appear from this chronicle that Kastūri Raṅga was not a usurper; that he ruled in the capacity of guardian; and that he did not undergo a tragic death. The *Pandyan Chronicle* however, is explicit on the point, and its version of a short, tragic reign of 8 days, is taken by Nelson to be the more correct one. It is curious, however, that it makes no mention of Muttu Kṛishṇappa at all. It passes direct from Liṅgappa to the short rule of Kastūri Raṅga and then to Muttu Virappa Nāik. Nor does it mention the relation between Muttu Virappa and Liṅgappa. In other words it seems to imply that Muttu Virappa ruled from 1601 to 1623; but the fact is that Muttu Kṛishṇa ruled till 1609, and Muttu Virappa ruled after him for 14 years. (Wheeler who claims to have based his account on *MSS.* leaves out Muttu Kṛishṇa altogether and says that Muttu Virappa Nāik ruled from 1604 to 1636).

CHAPTER V.

The Nâik Kingdom in the first quarter of the 17th Century.

Introduction.

In the history of South India the space of twenty three years which elapsed from the death of Aryanâtha to the accession of the great builder Tirumal Nâik is an epochal one. For it was in that period that the first real attempt of the provincial chiefs to make themselves rulers of independent dynasties reached fruition. It was then that the career of Mysore, Madura and Tanjore as independent States began. The important dynasty of the Sêtipatis again came to power in this period, and a tremendous religious revival followed by a widespread conversion and serious popular ferment, was inaugurated by the establishment of the Jesuit Mission in Madura and the organization of it into an elaborate proselytising agency. More important than these was the advent of the European nations in the Coromandel seas, and the rivalry of the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Danes in industrial and commercial exploitation of the country and in the establishment of trade treaties with the ruling powers. Thus in politics, in religion, and in commerce, this quarter of a century witnessed very important changes.

SECTION I.

Muttu Krishnappa (1602-9.)

Muttu Krishnappa seems to have acquitted himself as a prudent and capable politician. The period of seven years during which he ruled has no history, so peaceful and eventless was it. The country enjoyed to the full the blessings of peace, and grew in prosperity and riches. A happy and contented realm brought ample revenues; and Muttu Krishnappa, like a true son of his line, distinguished his reign by the benevolent profusion with which he distributed the fruits of his kingdom in the performance of charities, the construction of public works and endowments to temples. He took a singular delight and a commendable interest in the digging of tanks, which combined in themselves utility with sanctity. Many a pagoda and *agrahâra* owed its existence and prosperity to his generosity, of which the most significant is the Muttu Kumârçâvara Temple at Kayattâr. He was also the builder of the town of Krishnapuram between Madura and the Skanda hills, the ruins of which bear melancholy testimony to his liberality. His relation with his suzerain Vênkatapati seems to have been at the same time one of loyal obedience. An evidence of this is afforded by his coins.⁴⁰ These have, on their obverse, the standing figure of Vishnu with a fish on his right, and on their reverse the name Vênkatapa in Canarese. Hultzsch believes that in consequence of the large abundance of these coins in the Madura bazaar and of their having the emblem of the Pândya country, they belonged to "One of the Madura Nâyakkar, who issued it in the name of his nominal sovereign Vênkata, the pageant king of Vijayanagara." And that they were the coins of Muttu Krishnappa is practically certain. For coins with the name *Tiruvēṅgala* in the obverse and Muttu Krishnappa in the reverse of the same type have been discovered, and shew that he acknowledged the suzerain dynasty of Vijayanagar, whose tutelary deity was Tiruvēṅgala.

⁴⁰ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 307-9.

The restoration of the Sêtipatis.

The seven years' rule of Muttu Kṛishṇappa, however, was noted for one important event which transpired therein. This was the establishment or rather restoration of the Sêtipatis of Râmnâḍ. The great Viśvanâtha I. or one of his successors had appointed two commissioners to secure the peace of the province, to evolve order out of the chaos into which it had drifted, to clear the overgrown forests, and to maintain a police for the protection of travellers. So long as Aryanâtha lived, this arrangement seems to have fulfilled the object of its introduction; but on his death in 1600 the province once again fell into anarchy. The commissioners were powerless, the vassals turbulent, and the people oppressed and discontented. Travellers had, owing to the abundance of thieves and forests, a hard time. The *sâdhus*, *bhairâgis*, and pilgrims thereupon proceeded to Madura, waited on Muttu Kṛishṇappa, and prayed to him to restore Saḍayakka Uḍayân, a scion of the ancient line of the Sêtipatis,⁴¹ to the throne of his ancestors. A story, told of almost every Indian who rose from poverty and obscurity to opulence and renown, and therefore of doubtful veracity, is told of Saḍayakka Uḍayân. He was barely twelve when he had the fortune of reviving the greatness of his ancestors and this, we are told, was foreshadowed by a marvellous experience of his. The boy was found asleep beneath a tamarind tree, with his face protected by a cobra from the rays of the sun; and the Lâḍa Chakravartin, who happened to be an eye-witness of the marvel, at once interested himself in him, and secured for him, by means of his intercession with Muttu Kṛishṇa, the ancestral throne of Râmnâḍ. A less romantic but more rational version ascribes the honour of restoring the Sêtipatis, not to the chief of the saints, but to the chief *guru* of King Muttu Kṛishṇappa. The teacher, it says, once went on a pilgrimage to Râmêśvaram, and received throughout the journey the solicitous attention and secure guidance of Saḍayakka Uḍâyan, the Chief of Pogaḷûr. The gratitude of the worthy Brahman sought a means of repayment, and obtained for him not only an interview with his royal pupil, the monarch of Madura, but also the grant of certain villages with robes and presents of honour. On his departure from the Court, Saḍayakka strengthened himself by fortifying Pogaḷûr, and then, subduing and taking "possession of all the anarchical disorderly country, reducing the inhabitants under his own dominion. He also collected a considerable sum of money in this country in the way of taxes, and brought it to Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nâik."⁴² Gratified by this conduct, the king gave him an unrestricted grant of additional lands, ordered him to clear the forests for cultivation, and communicated to the people his choice of Saḍayakka, as the chief to whom their allegiance in future was due. According to this ordinance, continues the chronicle, Saḍayakka assembled a large force, and, with its aid, overthrew a greater tract of country, the revenue from which he used partly for his own expenses and partly as a tribute to the king. This loyal and honourable conduct gratified the heart of Muttu Kṛishṇappa, who

⁴¹ According to Nelson, he was the grandson of the last Sêtipati "who had been murdered by one of the last Pâḍiyas who preceded Viśvanâtha Niyakkan." In his *Antiquities* Sewell gives an inscription of 1599 belonging to one Daḷavâi Sêtipati Kattâr (Vol. II, 5), who made a grant of eight villages to the temple of Râmanâtha Svâmi; but the cyclic year *Parîbhava* and 1599 do not agree. Copper plates 11 and 12 of 1510-11, which record gifts of as many as 13 villages to the Râmanâtha Svâmi temple at Râmêśvaram, mention this Daḷavâi Sêtipati Katta Tevar in 1607 and 1608. Daḷavâi Sêtipati seems to be thus another name for Saḍayakka. See *Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 16.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 29.

therefore summoned him to his presence and bestowed upon him the title of Uḍayān Sētupati, together with the robes and ornaments, and the banners and ensigns, of royalty. We are further informed that in the warm affection which the king felt to his new favourite, he permitted him to leave his capital only after personally consecrating him to his vicerealty with the holy water of the Ganges.

Thus it was that the obscure chief of Pogaḷūr found himself (like his ancestors) all at once the governor of the whole Marava country.⁴³ From this time onward, the Sētupati had a very close relation with Madura. The most powerful of her feudatories, he naturally became the leader of the seventy-two Polygars. From the position of a village magnate he became a king with the retinues and the paraphernalia of royalty. The title Sētupati, hitherto an emblem of past glory rather than of present power, became a real indicator of the actual fact. All this credit is due to the ability of Śaḍayakka, a man who by his character and conduct more than fulfilled the expectations of his master. A man of energy and fire, of great activity and martial valour, he undertook a crusade against turbulent vassals and reduced them to subjection. The important villages of Vadakku Vatalai, Kāḷayār Kōvil and Paṭṭamaṅgalam, once the homes of disloyalty, now became harmless and contented abodes of men. Besides ensuring order in the land, Śaḍayakka reclaimed a large quantity of waste lands and utilised them for purposes of cultivation and occupation. He erected mud fortifications at Pogaḷūr and at Rāmnaḍ, and maintained an efficient police for the safety of the pilgrims. He also repaired⁴⁴ and enlarged the temple of Rāmēśvaram, and made numerous endowments to it,⁴⁵ earning thereby the gratitude of the thousands who devoutly visited it every year. He ruled for the space of 16 years and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Kūttan, in 1621.

⁴³ Some scholars dispute this. One Mr. J. L. W., who contributes two able articles on the Maravas to the *Calcutta Review* (1878-1892), says, like Mr. Boyle, that the absence of evidences and inscriptions previous to Śaḍayakka and "the awkward way" in which he is introduced into history, shew that there had been no Sētupatis before him; that he was in fact the founder of the line; and that the accounts of imperial wars and alliances as given in the chronicles are all fabrications. (See *Calcutta Review*, 1878, p. 448). Mr. Boyle is of the same opinion. He asks "If the youth (Śaḍayakka) had sprung from a royal line, if he only continued the long descent of an immemorial house, what need was there for this legend? But if the chronicle had to explain the rise of modern family, and the origin of an obscure race of princes, what more natural than to conceal those humble beginnings under a veil of fable; and to prove that the modern family was only the restoration, under divine favour, of an illustrious house?" (*Calcutta Review* 1874, p. 38). Mr. Boyle further points out that there are no inscriptions or buildings in the Rāmēśvaram temple attributed to anybody before Śaḍayakka; and that this total absence of monumental records is against the theory of an old and independent dynasty. While there is much in these contentions, it seems, however, that these writers have gone astray. Tradition cannot be so entirely discarded. The "awkward story" of the Uḍayān, on which they base much of their criticism is after all given only in some family chronicle and not in the record of the Carnatic Governors. We may therefore not give much credence to it. As regards sudden elevation from obscurity, we need not wonder at it, as it was quite natural in an age of vicissitudes and frequent revolutions.

⁴⁴ Śaḍayakka was evidently confirmed in the privilege of issuing coins of his own in imitation of the Madura Nāik coins. See chapter XI.

⁴⁵ In 1607 and 1608. See *Antiquities*, I, 300, II, 6. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 89.

SECTION II.

The foundation of the Jesuit Mission in Madura.

The reign of Muttu Krishnappa is also noteworthy for the fact that it saw the first serious⁴⁶ attempt, on the part of the Christians, after the great Xavier, to convert, on a large scale, the people of South India. Three generations back Francis Xavier had laid the foundations of an Indian Christianity among the Paravas. His work was extended by his successors, who established a mission in Madura itself in order to convert the Vaḍugas and other higher castes. But this mission had not been a success, as its head, Father Gonsalve Fernandez, was a steady and mild preacher, who had a great regard for the feelings of others and who, for that very reason, failed to bring new proselytes for his faith. His character and conduct gained, it is true, from the Nâiks, the permission to build a church and presbytery in the city for the benefit of his flock and of the Paravans who visited Madura; but he could do nothing more. A new and more active set of missionaries now came into the scene in the Jesuits. These had hitherto been endeavouring, with some success, to convert the Syrian Christians of Malabar to the Catholic faith and with this view, had, besides developing industrial settlements in various places, established a sacred college and training school near Cochín. These institutions they now resolved to make the base of extensive Jesuit activities and undertakings from Bengal to the Cape. Seeing that Madura was the most important political and religious centre in the South, that it was the seat at once of the most powerful kingdom and the most celebrated temple, the Jesuits resolved to carry their activities there. It was a thing which could not be done by ordinary men. An extraordinary capacity, combined with tact and policy, was the great need, and a man who could play the politician and act the priest, with equal confidence. A singular courage and daring, a profound knowledge of the Brahmanical cult and customs, extensive scholarship, and a large amount of tact were the requisite qualifications of a successful preacher; otherwise there was little hope of braving the lion in his den.

Robert de Nobilis.

And the man came. In the year 1606,⁴⁷ when Muttu Krishnappa had been three years on the throne, there came to Madura an Italian nobleman, Robert de Nobilis by name, who, born in the province of Tuscany of high aristocratic parents, and afforded with opportunities of renown and greatness in his own country, sacrificed his ambitions at the altar of his creed, and joined the Jesuit Society, with a view to make his name felt, as a preacher, in distant parts of the world. Robert de Nobilis was just thirty years of age when he came to Madura. No Missionary, either before or after him, has ever come to India with greater talents or more requisite qualifications. Handsome and imposing in appearance, singularly gifted with the capacity to learn and to see and to adjust himself

⁴⁶ This section is based on Nelson's *Madura Manual*, Chandlor's *Jesuit Mission in Madura*, Hough's *Christianity in India*, Taylor's *O. H. MSS.*, etc. The following quotation from Thevenot shows that the Jesuits had been active even in Chandragiri. "Two Portuguese Jesuits from St. Thome went to Chandragiri in the year 1599 and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura, and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries affirm the assertion." (*S. Arcot Manual*, p. 4 footnote).

to circumstances, wise, cautious, tactful and daring, the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and the relation of Pope Julius III, was a personality, born to attract and lead men. The most remarkable things about him were the extraordinary receptivity of his mind and the spirit of compromise of his acts. Undaunted by obstacles and indifferent to difficulties, he could study as many languages and could master as many literatures, as were necessary to meet his adversaries in their own fields. A close and acute student of the social customs and habits of the people, he could see which of these were consistent with Christianity and which were not, and unlike his predecessors, he could adopt a policy of compromise. Proceeding even further, he, in order to prove that the customs and habits of the Hindus could not be, in many cases, antagonistic to the profession of the Christian religion, adopted them in his own life. Robert de Nobilis introduced thus two great innovations in the method of Christian propaganda in India, the study of Indian languages and literatures, and a reasonable concession to the Indian social customs and prejudices. Knowledge and compromise were, in his scheme, the twofold bases of Christianity in India. To study the *Vēdas* and the *āgamas*, to master the *Upanishads* and the popular cults, and to use this knowledge in the refutation of popular beliefs and in the interpretation of Christianity, was his first idea. To distinguish society from religion, caste from creed, and custom from belief, and to yield in respect of the former for the sake of ensuring the latter, was his second idea. He had the acuteness to see that his predecessors had failed in their proselytising movement, because of their defects in these two respects. They had not cared to arm themselves with the intellectual weapons of their adversaries. They had not been reasonable enough to gauge the feelings and understand the prejudices of those whom they wished to convert. They were, in other words, both ignorant and unpractical, both incapable and extreme. They had been wanting in argument as well as policy. No doubt they were men of exemplary character, of strong conviction, and of real sincerity; but it was these very necessary, but unattractive, virtues that made their attempts a failure and their endeavours barren. Character, conviction, and sincerity were indeed very necessary virtues in preachers, but they were not the only ones needed. A certain amount of tact and moderation, of the capacity to follow the principle of give and take, and of sound knowledge of the capacities and achievements of the other party, were necessary; and in these the predecessors of De Nobilis had failed. They had, on account of their ignorance and their honest but tactless sincerity, gone to extremes in their condemnation of everything Hindu and popular. Customs good and bad, beliefs sound and harmful, creeds of gross idol-worship or the most advanced philosophy, were equally condemned by their crusade. De Nobilis introduced a new epoch in the history of Christianity by endeavouring to make it recognised as superior to advanced Hinduism in respect of intellectual culture, and equally ready, like Hinduism, to sanction social gradations and customs.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷ Nelson wrongly attributes the event to 1623. For an adverse view of Jesuit Missions, in general, of De Nobilis and his labours in particular, see Hough's *Christianity in India* II, 216-35. Mr. Taylor is much briefer, though not milder, in language. His dates are much more inaccurate than Nelson's. He attributes De Nobilis, for instance, to the times of Chokkanātha and Rāṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa. See *O. H. MSS.*, II, 220.

APPENDIX TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE WRECK OF THE DODDINGTON IN 1755.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Prefatory Note.

SOME YEARS AGO (see *ante.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 294, 330; Vol. XXX, pp. 451, 491; Vol. XXXI, pp. 114, 180, 222) I printed in this Journal a *Debonnaire MS.* containing an account by Evan Jones, Chief Mate of the *Doddington*, of the wreck of that vessel and of the subsequent adventures of the survivors. The diary kept by Jones ends on the 2d May 1756, when he and 14 others were taken on board the *Caernarvon*, bound for Madras. The Fort St. George Consultation Book contains a note of the arrival of the *Caernarvon* and a copy of an abridged account of the disaster, compiled for transmission to the Court of Directors. This narrative, called by Jones an "Abstract" from his "Journal," contains some variations in the names of the survivors and a few additional details. By the courtesy of the authorities at the India Office, I reproduce it here.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 8th August 1756.¹

Arrived the Honble. Company's Ship *Caernarvon*, Norton Hutchinson from England, with a packet for this Presidency. . .

The *Caernarvon* having touched at Madagascar found part of the crew² of the *Dodington*, which ship was wrecked on the Island of Chaos [Bird Island], lying upwards of 7 Degrees to the Eastward of Cape Lagulhas, and about two leagues from the African Shore.³ Ordered that the Secretary apply to Mr. Jones, who was the Chief Mate of the *Dodington* and is one of the Persons saved, for a particular Account of the Loss of that Ship to be transmitted to the Honble. Court of Directors.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 19th August 1756.

Letter from Mr. Evan Jones, late Chief Mate of the *Dodington*, read, as entered hereafter, giving an Account of the manner in which that Ship was lost with the Occurrences and transactions of those who were saved till the time of their being taken on Board the *Caernarvon* at Morandavia,⁴ and desiring that the Board will receive and give him a Discharge for a Chest of Treasure, a Box of Plate and a Lady's Watch which were saved from the Wreck.

Agreed that the Said Treasure, Plate and Watch be received into the Company's Treasury.

The said Mr. Evan Jones and Mr. William Webb, late 3rd Mate of the *Dodington*, being destitute of means to support themselves at present, and the Court of Directors having approved of the assistance which was given to the officers of the *Lincoln* in the year 1749 under the like Circumstances, Agreed that Eight Pagodas per month be allowed to each of them untill they can procure their passage to Europe or otherwise provide for themselves.

¹ *Madras Public Proceedings*, Range 240, Vol. XIV, pp. 386-387, 419-420, 421-425.

² Fifteen, according to the *Debonnaire MS.*, see *ante.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 191.

³ See the remarks on the locality of the wreck, *ante.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 295.

⁴ Morondava on the west coast of Madagascar in 20° S. Lat.

**To the Honble. George Pigot Esqr., President and Governour of
Fort St. George & Co. Council.**

Honble. Sir and Sirs. As I had the misfortune to be cast away in the *Dedington*, I think it my duty to acquaint your Honours with the loss of the said ship, and all other remarkable occurrences from our last departure, which was Cape Le Gullas [Aghulas] to my happy deliverance on board the *Caernarvon* at Morandava, on the Island of Madagascar, and I also humbly request that you'll please to receive and give me a Discharge for a Chest of Treasure having the Honble. Company's mark on it, No. 5 I A, also a box of wrought Plate with Arms on them, and a Lady's Watch, which together with the King's and Honble. Company's Pacquets, is all of any consequence that came on shore. I am Honble. Sir and Sirs, Your most Obedient humble Servant.

Caernarvon in Madrass Road

August 8th 1756.

EVAN JONES.

The following is an **Abstract from my Journal** from the time I took my departure from Cape Le Gullas 'till the time I got on board the *Caernarvon*.

July 6th 1756,⁵ took a fresh departure from Cape Le Gullas, and sailed to the Eastward, 36°00' S². Latitude to 35°00'⁶ 'till I made 12°45' difference of Longitude, and on the 16th instant⁷ was in the Latitude of 35°00' S² by a good Observation, at which time the Captain ordered the course to be altered from E. to ENE, and a quarter before 1 o'clock A. M. the 17th the Ship struck, and in less than 20 minutes was intirely wrecked. 23 men only escaping with life to the Shore who are the following Persons Vizt.

Evan Jones Chief Mate.

John Collet 2d Mate.

William Webb 3rd Mate.

Samuel Powell 5th Mate

John Yeats⁸ Midshipman

Richard Topping Carpenter

Neil Bothwell Quartermaster

Nathl. Chisholm Quartermaster

John King Foremastman

Robert Beazly Foremastman

John Lester Muntros⁹

Ralph Smith Muntros⁹

John Glass Foremastman

Jonas¹⁰ Taylor Foremastman

Gilbert Chain Foremastman

Jeremiah Mole¹¹ Foremastman

Peter Rosenberg¹² Foremastman

Hendrick¹³ Scance Foremastman

Daniel Ladox¹⁴ Capt: Steward

John McDowel¹⁵ Stewards Servant

Thomas Arnolds Stewards Servant,¹⁶ Black

Sharp¹⁷ Doctor's Servant

Dyson Muntros⁹

As soon as day light appeared discovered ourselves to be on a barren Rock 2 Leagues from the Main, and as I found afterwards lies in the Latitude of 34° 00' S² by a good Observation with Hadley Quadrant, and to the Eastward of the Bay De Algoa 8 or 9 Leagues.¹⁸

⁵ Should be 1755. The *Debonnaire MS.* has 8th July.

⁷ No date is given in the *Debonnaire MS.*

⁹ Leister, Dyson, Smith,—Matrosses (no Christian names) in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹⁰ Johannes in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹¹ More in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹² Henry in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹³ Henry in *Debonnaire MS.* ¹⁴ Ladoux in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹⁵ Thomas Arnold, Seaman, in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹⁶ Henry Sharp, Surgeons Servant, in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹⁷ See *ante.*, Vol XXIX, p. 295, for the exact position.

⁶ 35° 30' in *Debonnaire MS.*

⁸ Yates in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹² Rosenberg in *Debonnaire MS.*

¹⁵ Mx Dugall in *Debonnaire MS.*

The first day after our deliverance on this Rock, I thought of nothing else but of making a Raft to Carry us to the Main, as soon as those that were cut by the Rocks would be able to travel, which I judged would be a Month at least; Therefore went in search of Provisions to subsist on for that time.

In looking about the Wreck found a chest of Treasure with the Honourable Company's Mark on it No. 51 : A : which came on Shore on part of the ship's Transome; The same day found the King's and honourable Company's Pacquetts which gott up, and opened the Papers to dry immediately, tho' at that time must own had no Reason for doing so.¹⁹ However, upon consulting Mr. Collett what must be done with them, it occurred to me that it would not be impossible to build a Boat out of the Wreck, if Providence should direct us to find some Tools.

The next day found an Adez, also a Chisel and 3 Sword Blades,²⁰ which the carpenter made saws of. With those we began our Boat, tho' not without Hopes of making others, one of the People promising great things in the Smith's Way; and he performed so well that he made every Tool the Carpenter wanted.

On the 4th day found a box of wrought Plate, which was no sooner got into safety than the People wanted to share it, together with the Treasure.²¹ All seemed to be resolved on it, excepting Mr. Collett, Webb, Yeats and McDowell, which all refused, and from that time were used excessive ill, and at one time their resentment carryed them so farr that they proposed murdering us, and would certainly have done it, had John King gave his Consent; but his refusing put a Stop to their Villainous designs in that respects, tho' not in others, for about the same Time the Chest of Treasure was broke open and 600 Pounds taken out by Richard Topping, Samuel Powell, Nathaniel Chisholm, John King, Robert Beazly, and John Leaster.

I intreated them to return it again, but to no Purpose, and I saw nothing of it 'till 3 days before the Boat was launched, when it was produced and shared with the Plate.

February 18th 1756 took leave of our Rock and sailed to the Northward with an Intention to touch at River St Lucia,²² but meeting with a very strong Current setting to the Southward, was much longer getting there than I expected we should, and before we got that length We put into a Barr Harbour to the Southward of River St Lucia, where we were used excessively civil by the natives who supplied us with everything we wanted for Brass Buttons. As we were afterwards in River St Lucia, in coming out, 9 of the people left us, not willing to venture over the Barr, which I must own looked very terrible; notwithstanding we that remained on Board were obliged to go over the Barr or suffer the Boat to be lost; for those who went on shore let go the Grapnail close to the Breakers at high Water, so that by the time it would have fallen a foot, she would have grounded; therefore as soon as the small Boat returned from putting them on shore we weighed the Grapnail again and put for the Barr. We were in the Breakers half an hour; at length got safe over, and in two days got to Dellago [Delagoa], where we found riding the *Rose* Gally from Bombay, Commanded by Edward Chandler. I thought this a good opportunity to get the Treasure and Plate again, therefore applied to Captain Chandler to assist me, who complied with my request by sending his Boat and Mate with me on Board the Sloop. We soon got what we went for and returned on Board the *Rose* Galley, where I continued 'till I arrived at Moradava. Two days after our arrival there, Captain Hutchinson in the *Cacnarvon* joined us, who has favoured me with a Passage to this Place.

EVAN JONES.

¹⁹ There is no mention in the Diary of Evan Jones of the finding of these papers.

²⁰ In the Diary, the discovery of an adze, &c. is given as on the same day as the finding of the chest of "Treasure."

²¹ The actual discovery of the box of plate is not recorded in the Diary.

²² Probably the Umfposi which runs into St. Lucia Bay (south of Delagoa Bay), in 28° 30' S. Lat

THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS.

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, BOMBAY.

Among the problems relating to the *Manusmṛiti*, the relationship between the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* and the Vedic school of the *Mānava-Maitrāyaṇīyas* has occupied one of the foremost places in later years. (See *Gründriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* II, 8. *Recht und Sitte*, von Julius Jolly, p. 17.) The time for a definite solution of this question does not seem to have arrived as yet. Hence we leave it aside, and propose to treat of the following three points concerning the *Manusmṛiti*:

First,—the authorship of the book;

Second,—its original form,

Third,—its probable date.

With data furnished by texts that have come to light since the days of Bühler and other scholars we hope to get nearer the truth than has hitherto been possible. To begin with the first question, viz., the authorship of the *Manusmṛiti*.

The *Manusmṛiti*, as we see it now-a-days, is not the original composition of the sage Manu. We have internal evidence enough to justify such a supposition.

It is said in the *Manusmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara Press, 4th ed. 1909, Bombay.) I 59-60, XII 116-117, and in XII 126, that the sage Manu instructed the sage Bhṛigu and Bhṛigu pronounced all the laws contained in it. From this same evidence, we know for certain, that there is no other person concerned with the authorship of the *Manusmṛiti* between Manu and Bhṛigu, or between us and Bhṛigu.

At the end of every chapter, we read इति मानवे धर्मशास्त्रे भृगुप्रोक्तायां संहितायां. This reminds us of the word ऋग्वेदसंहिता where the word संहिता refers to the collecting and grouping of the hitherto only scattered hymns.

It is true, three commentators on the *Manusmṛiti* have an additional verse in the beginning of the book. While commenting on that verse, Govindarāja says, इह भृगुशिष्यः कश्चिद्विच्छिन्नपरम्परायात्तस्मिन्प्रबन्धमिदमाह (cf. *Manu*^o Bühler, S. B. E. Vol. XXV, 1886, p. xiii). This assertion, however, does not materially affect our conclusion. At the most, it would assign the authorship to the pupil of Bhṛigu and not to Bhṛigu himself. This would mean merely a change of the name and none whatsoever of the real author. But we should not forget that great commentators like Medhātithi and Kullūka make no such statement and the writer of the *Mitāksharā* says (on the first verse of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*) याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चिदप्रोक्तरूपं याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्य कथयामास । यथा मनुप्रणीतं भृगुः । Therefore, we may dismiss the statement of the commentator Govindarāja in favour of what the writer of the *Mitāksharā* says.

Hence, the conclusions we draw are that the arrangement of matter and metre is done by Bhṛigu alone, and that there is no third person or redactor of the *Manusmṛiti*, its first and principal author being Manu himself.

These conclusions are very important, as we shall see later on, when we shall have to consider some conflicting arguments in connection with the form of the *Manusmṛiti*. Moreover, the present *Manusmṛiti* is not the original one, but a redaction of it by Bhṛigu, the pupil of Manu, and it must differ considerably in matter, spirit and arrangement, as a copy differs from an original picture.

We cannot determine how far new things have been added by Bhṛigu, or to what extent outside matter has crept into his version later on. With the discovery of the original work many of our doubts will be solved;

We now come to the second question, viz. the original form of the Manusmṛiti. That the original work must be in Sūtra style, was a conjecture made many years ago by Prof. Max Müller (*cf. S. B. E. Vol. XXV, Introd. p. xviii.*) and by Dr. Bühler (*cf. ibid, p. xx ff.*). However, with the help of the publication in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, (No. 28, 1st ed. 1913) of the वैखानस धर्मप्रश्नः¹ we can get beyond a mere conjecture.

Various sūtras in that book (वैखानस°) run parallel to the verses of the metrical Manusmṛiti. Even some of the sentences in the कौटिलीयं अर्थशास्त्रम् (*Mysore Bibl. Sanscr. No. 37, 1st ed. 1909*) convey the same impression. This will be clear from several quotations taken from the two books, and put side by side. (The whole of the वैखानस° is in sūtra style.)

वैखानस° III 6. 10. "भूमौ निवीक्ष्य जन्तून् परिहरन् पादं न्यसेत् ।"

Cf. Manu° VI 68.

वैखानस° I 2. 2-3. "स्थिते गुरौ स्थेयात् उत्थिते पूर्वमुत्थाय व्रजन्तमनुगच्छेत् । आसीने शयाने च निद्रुक्तौ नीचैरन्वासनशयनं कुर्यात् ।"

Cf. Manu° II 196, 198; 203.

वैखानस° III 4. 6. "योषिदास्यं कारुहस्तः प्रसारितं पण्यं च सर्वदा शुद्धम् ।"

Cf. Manu° V 129-130.

वैखानस° III 1. 14. and III 2. 12. "उदयेऽस्तमये च सूर्ये नेक्षेत । इन्द्रधनुः परस्मै न दर्शयेत् न वदेत् ।"

Cf. Manu° IV 37 and IV 59.

वैखानस° II 8. 3 "मिक्षापात्रमलाङ्गं वारवं मुन्मयं वा गृह्णाति ।"

Cf. Manu° VI 54.²

वैखानस° III 2. 1. "स्नातकराजगुरुश्रेष्ठ रोगिभारभृदन्तर्वस्तीनां पन्था देवः ।"

Cf. Manu° II 138-9.

वैखानस° III 1. 11. "सर्वप्राणिहितोऽद्रोहिणैव जीवेत् ।"

Cf. Manu° IV 2.

वैखानस° I 2. 7. "अद्वेषी वाक्चित्तातुकूलः प्रियं सत्यं वदेत् ।"

Cf. Manu° IV 138.

वैखानस° II 11. 3. "सर्वेषां माता श्रेयसी । गुरुश्च श्रेयान् ।"

Cf. Manu° II 145-47.

¹ The Manusmṛiti mentions "वैखानस" once in VI 21. In V. N. Mandlik's edition of (Bombay 1886) with seven commentaries, "वैखानस" is mentioned in an additional verse given in the beginning of Chapter VI.

The account about the वैखानस° given by J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* p. 9, and following him by A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1909, p. 262 does not agree with the contents of the वैखानस° of the T. S. series.

The book is very important. Its style is extraordinarily clear, precise, and eloquent. The customs mentioned in II 9. 5 and in III. 15. 2 are to be found only in Southern India, in and about the Malabār district. If these two customs be proved to have been prevalent over the whole of India, the book must be referred to a period of Indian civilization, when such customs were possible in society; but in that case, it must be of an earlier date than Bṛigu's version. (*Cf. also Dr. Bühler on this work, S. B. E. Vol. XXV, Introd.*) It must be earlier than Kālidāsa who mentions "वैखानस" in *Śakuntalā* I 22 (27).

It should be noted that, side by side with many parallels between वैखानस° and the Manusmṛiti, higher notes of ethics and philosophy, which we believed to be peculiar to the Manusmṛiti only, find an echo in वैखानस°. The most obvious are II 11. 3 and I 2. 7 which are parallel to Manusmṛiti II 145-7 and IV 138.

² Who was the first to lay down this rule? Manu or Vikhanās? Is it legitimate, indeed, to conclude that VI 54 is Manu's own injunction?

वैखानस°	III	1.15	...	Manu°	IV	39
"	"	2.12	...	"	"	59
"	"	2.15	...	"	"	"
"	"	3.10-11	..	"	V	113-116
"	"	4.4	...	"	"	128
"	"	7.9	...	"	VI	46
"	"	6.6	...	"	VI	42-44 ; 47-8
"	I	2.6	..	"	II	177-180 ; 191

These are some of the instances (which could easily be multiplied), to prove that the present *Manusmṛiti* is based on a work that must be in *sūtra* style.

Moreover, from the parallels between वैखानस° III 2.1, and *Manu*° II, 138-9, we get a clear idea of the process of turning *sūtras* into verses. In the *sūtra* just referred to, evidently, persons of greater importance are mentioned first. But that order cannot be preserved in rendering the *sūtra* into *ślokas*. Exigencies of metre necessitate a change. Hence a verse must be added to cover the defect of meaning; and that additional verse should say what the words in the *sūtra*, by their very position, implied. Thus we get *Manu*° II 138 and 139. Somewhat similar is the case of *Manu*° VI 68 and of IV 2. There, instead of a verse, explanatory words are added.

Now we come to some quotations from the कौ° अर्थ° composed (as we shall prove later on) by the famous minister of Chandragupta.

कौ° अर्थ° Ch. 69 p. 191-2, "साहसमन्वयवत् प्रसनकर्म ।" "निरन्वये स्तेयमपच्यते च ।" "रत्नसारकल्मुकुट्यानां साहसे मूल्यसमी दण्डः इति मानवाः ।" Cf. *Manu*° VIII 332-333.

कौ° अर्थ° Ch. 1 p. 6, "आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्या । त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः त्रयीविशेषो आन्वीक्षिकीति ।" Cf. *Manu*° VII 43.

The legitimate conclusion, from these quotations, is that *Manu* must have written in *sūtras*, some of which must be identical with those of the वैखानस° and the कौ° अर्थ°. The metrical rendering of the *sūtras* appears to have been very cleverly done.

It may be said to be now only a question of time, when the *Mānavadharmasūtra* (henceforth we use the abbreviation मानव°) to designate this *sūtra*: will be published. There appears a statement made by Śāstri Yajñeśwara Chimanāji (in his introduction to the Gujarātī translation of the *Vyavahāra* portion of the *Yājñā*° and *Mītdksharā*, published in 1872-), "मानवधर्मशास्त्रे वास्ते मानवधर्मसूत्र तथा अंकात्मक मनुस्मृति एव प्रसिद्ध छे." "as regards the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, both the *Mānavadharmasūtra* and the versified *Manusmṛiti*" are well known.

Here we must stop for a moment and consider certain data, apparently adverse to our position. However strong our arguments may be, we should not shut our eyes to the accounts which go against our conclusions. In the *Nārada-smṛiti* (cf. S. B. E. vol. xxxiii.), it is said that *Manu* first wrote in verse. Hence, according to this account,

³ These two sentences are not marked as quotations from *Manu*. Hence, we naturally conclude that the definition, whether made by *Manu* or only accepted by him, must have belonged to the common stock of legal tradition. We do not know who was the first to define the *Sāhaka*. It is, in this connection, interesting to note that the eight forms of marriage given in the कौ° अर्थ° (cf. ch. 59 p. 151,) are not marked as quotation from the laws of *Manu* either.

there is no possibility of there being a मानव² ! Further on, the same *smṛiti* tells us that the total number of verses in the original composition amounted to one *lākh*. That total was reduced to 12,000 by Nārada, and his pupil Mārkaṇḍeya cut the number down to 8,000 : Sumati, the son of Bṛiḡu, followed the example, and left the *Manusmṛiti* in 4,000 verses. Accordingly, Bṛiḡu has nothing to do with the *Manusmṛiti* ! Moreover there are certain accounts in the *Purāṇas* which, though they differ from the *Nārada* in other ways, yet agree that the original code of Manu consisted of one *lākh* of verses.

To reply : These statements find no support from the *Manusmṛiti*. We have no longer 4,000 verses in it, but only 2,684 (5.) We have shown in the beginning with the help of *Manusmṛiti* I 58-60, XII 117, and the colophon that Bṛiḡu learnt directly from Manu, and he himself reproduced all that he had learnt from Manu. Therefore our position remains unshaken in spite of other assertions.

We trust to have now settled the questions as regards the authorship and the original form of the *Manusmṛiti*. Now we come to the question of its date.

Tradition assigns the book to the distant ages of the past. *Manu* I 58 declares that it was taught by Prajāpati himself to Manu. We have the statements of the *Nārada-smṛiti* and the *Purāṇas* to the effect that the laws of Manu were much greater in volume than they are to-day ; but there is no convincing evidence on these points.

Dr. Bühler has assigned the *Manusmṛiti* to the time from 200 B. C. to A. D. 200. This is what the learned doctor says : ". it certainly existed in the second century A. D. and seems to have been composed between that date and the second century B. C. (*S. B. E.* Vol. XXV, 1886 Introd. p. cxvii). It should not be forgotten that this is supposed to be the date of Bṛiḡu's redaction. The date of the original मानव² can in no way be determined.

For getting nearer the truth a verse in the first canto of the *Buddhacharita* by Aśvaghosha is the first stepping stone.

The authority of Aśvaghosha cannot be impeached. He wrote about 1,800 years ago (the most recent and authoritative treatises on his accurate time are, we fear, unfortunately inaccessible just now ; but we trust to be on the safe side in fixing this date somewhere between 27-200 A. D. We may well assume that he, being a Buddhist monk, was free from the prejudices of Brāhmanism. He had no need to fabricate evidence or to change the accounts current in his day.

His statement (we give it just below), therefore, that Sukra was the son of Bṛiḡu (or an illustrious member of Bṛiḡu's) must be accepted as true. It is corroborated by another one which we give below in note No. 6 (h). His further assertion as regards family Bṛihaspati is borne out by the *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇa*° (V 18, Bombay University ed. and V 151 Calc. ed.) which is given in the same note (i. e. 6 b.).

Hence, we must place Bṛiḡu always earlier than Sukra, wherever the name of this sage or his *Nitiśāstra* is quoted.

The above referred to verse of *Buddha*° (ed. by the late Śāstri Rāśivadekar and Prof. Soani, first ed.) I 47 runs as follows :—

“यद् राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वैशकरावृषी तौ ।
तयोः सुतौ तौ च सप्तर्षितुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥”

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 108.)

His method of work.

The immediate and logical result of this view was the adoption of a different method of conversion. The predecessors of De Nobilis had appealed to the Paravas and the lower classes, and laboured for their elevation first. By doing this, they had had the satisfaction of bringing thousands of people into their fold; but this satisfaction had been, soon after, followed by a serious disappointment and despair. For all conversion ceased with the Paravas, who had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by embracing Christianity. The higher castes refused to be moved by the sermons of the missionaries, whom they called *Parangis* (*Frangi*, Frank, European, not Indian) and held in horror. They feared the infamy of association with those who ate beef, drank wine, and lived in the company of outcaste Pariahs. The conversion of the Paravans thus proved an obstacle to the conversion of the higher castes. De Nobilis, therefore, separated himself entirely from his brother workers. He started the system of bringing round the higher classes first, and for this purpose, he had necessarily to keep himself aloof from the contact of the lower classes and of the missionaries who worked among them. In other words, while his predecessors had worked from below, he began the system of working from above. The one had begun with the elevation of the depressed, the other began with the persuasion of the enlightened. The one influenced the lower classes and the other the Brahmans. They worked from the opposite poles, as it were, towards a common centre.

Its inherent difficulty.

Such a circumstance could not but raise discontent in the minds of the different parties. De Nobilis' stay in the midst of the Brahmans, his avoidance of the lower classes and of the company of his brother missionaries, the sanction he gave to the continued observance of Hindu castes and customs, made him an object of suspicion and hatred in the eyes of his brother workers. They believed him to be an insane man who, in order to gain nominally a larger number of Christians, demeaned himself and the Christian religion itself by his conduct and precept. By his separation from the depressed classes, he violated, they held, the fundamental principle of equality which Christianity boasted; and by his concessions to Indian taste and manners, he demoralised, they said, Christianity itself, and sacrificed its simplicity and its truth.⁴⁸ While De Nobilis thus incurred the odium of his co-religionists, he was not, in the long run, more successful in obtaining triumph over paganism or in his relations with the higher classes of the Hindus. In fact, circumstanced as he was, he could hardly succeed. From the first he placed himself in a wrong position. He began with deceit, with the adoption of a life which he in secret abhorred, with lies or at least equivocations on his lips as to his parentage, his aims, his views, and his ambitions. Calling himself a Brahman, he could hardly continue to deceive the Brahman. Capable of proving that he was not a Parangi in the moral sense, he could hardly hide long the fact that he was a 'Parangi' in birth. The result was that when the real facts became

⁴⁸ Cf. Hough, who says that his teachings were "not consistent with Christian truth" and had "little relation to the doctrines and labours of the apostles." They "present so little of Christian character" that they are "scarcely entitled to be recorded in a history of Christianity in India." Taylor also condemns him. See *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 220.

known, his fall was sudden, and the bold and cunning experiment of which he was the author remained little more than an experiment. Religion is inconsistent with ambiguity of ethics, and De Nobilis was a failure on account of his failure to understand this fundamental fact.

Its failure and its lessons.

The great experiment of De Nobilis thus ended in failure; but, none the less, his career deserves a fairly detailed narration, for the methods which he adopted were not only bold, original, and admirably ingenious, but they taught, both by their merits and demerits, valuable lessons to future workers in the field of Christianity in India. His career remains a shining example, an eternal reminder of what ought to be done, of the necessary measures to be taken to attract and captivate the Hindu mind, and of the pitfalls to be carefully avoided. Both by his successes and failures, he thus stands as the teacher of the missionaries. To the over-zealous and over-ingenious, he stands as a wholesome check, a necessary reminder of the helplessness of genius, if it is unaccompanied by plainness. To the timid and weak, at the same time, he is an object of imitation, an encouraging teacher. He taught that genius was independent of circumstance, that it was possible to out-Brahman even the most orthodox Brahman, if only there was energy, industry, and perseverance, in the realm of knowledge and of philosophy. Protestants and Catholics, Anglicans and Jesuits, Wesleyans and Lutherans,—in fact every school of missionaries that have come to India, have learnt from him, and while carefully trying to avoid his mistakes, have closely adhered to his praiseworthy methods.

De Nobilis at Madura.

It was in the year 1606 that De Nobilis came to Madura. From the first moment of his arrival, he adopted the method which he had chalked out for himself,—the method of becoming Indian for the sake of making the Indian a Christian. With the approval of his superior and the archbishop of Cranganur, he introduced himself to the Brahmans as a Roman⁶ Brahman “of a higher order than any in the east,” who had renounced the world and taken to the hard life of a Sanyāsin. His fair complexion, his fine figure and his deportment necessarily made people think that he was a European, a ‘Parangi’; but he denied that he was a ‘Parangi.’ Consistent with his pretence, he adopted the dress and habits of the Sanyāsin. A long linen salmon-coloured robe, with a surplice of the same colour, covered his imposing and majestic frame. A white or red sash went over his shoulders, and a turban round his head, while his feet rested on wooden sandals. Sacred threads, in the form of the Brahmanical *yajñopavita*, crossed his body; only in the place of the three cords, he had five, three of gold to represent the Trinity and two of silver, to represent, as he said, the body and soul of man. As a Sanyāsin he had also medals, images and beads, eschewed the society of Fernandez and his converts, employed Brahman servants alone, and lived on a pure vegetarian diet, rice and herbs.

His Brahmanical life.

The adoption of a Brahmanical life made the Brahmans think that De Nobilis was a Brahman. They therefore welcomed him, Saint as he was, and gave him a residence and a plot of ground in their own street, wherein he was able to establish a church and presbytery. The ingenious tenacity of De Nobilis, his complete separation from the lower classes and the Parangi missionaries, and above all his remarkable scholarship in the sacred lore of the Brahmans blinded the latter as to his real nationality, his desires and his ambi-

⁶ Hough, II, 221.

tions. For De Nobilis, not contented with the deceptive adherence to the outward formalities of Brahmanical life, took to the study of their literature, and soon became a master of it. He had the penetration to see that the superior social status of the Brahman, his influence, his power, could be traced to the superiority of his mental culture, and that by knowledge and intellect alone he could conquer him. An intellectual giant himself, it was not long before he became as well versed as the most orthodox Brahman in the Vêdâs, the Sâstras, and the philosophy of the Brahman. To proficiency in Sanskrit literature he combined proficiency in Telugu and Tamil literatures. Thus equipped, he was able to engage the most scholarly of his adversaries in debates and discussions without the fear of defeat, and thus equipped he could so present the doctrines of the Christian religion as not to clash with their cherished views and habits of thought. De Nobilis never believed in a frontal attack on the Hindu religion. Such an attack only roused the dormant spirit of even the heterodox, and tended to make their attachment to their ancestral creed stronger. His method, therefore, was to so interpret the Vêdâs, etc., that the people unconsciously imbibed the Christian doctrines. He depended for his success more on the skilful interpretation, or rather misinterpretation, of the Brahmanical lore, than on the excellence of his sermon. He wished, in other words, to first create a public opinion unconsciously favourable to Christianity and therefore willing to embrace Christianity itself in the long run; but in doing this, he forgot, to use the language of Rev. Mr. Hough, that he was fatally "compromising the truth of the Gospel and the liberty of the poor believer."

To the reputation of a scholar De Nobilis added the name of a sage and recluse. Well aware that solitude was a source of attraction, he rarely gave a ready audience to visitors. Men received the monotonous answer that the teacher was engaged in prayer, in studies and in contemplation. When persistence procured an interview, the charming and persuasive eloquence, the deep wisdom, and the erudite scholarship of the Sanyâsin, dazzled and puzzled the stranger, and he would return, as a result of his discussions, with a vague unrest, a sort of scepticism, an undefined but new line of thought, which he could not explain himself, but which he knew was a subtle departure from acknowledged interpretation of his sacred lore. De Nobilis, it is true, never used the name Christ; for if he had done so, he would have been the next day expelled from the Brahman street and would have been murdered as a disguised enemy of the gods. Nor did he stand in the way of the caste, the festivals and the minor observances of the people. "Pongul," for instance, i. e. "the cooking of new rice and milk, and eating it solemnly," he allowed; only, he wanted it to be practised at the foot of the cross after he blessed the new rice.

His religious compromise.

They were likewise allowed to rub sandal-paste, provided it was blessed by the priest. Again he subscribed freely to the popular belief that magic was capable of exorcising devils out of people, of giving children to the childless. Gold leaves, rosaries, ashes and all other mysterious weapons used by the Hindu Yogis and magicians were therefore used by De Nobilis, on as large a scale as they, and the number of conversions which he effected by these means was perhaps larger than by his sermons or teachings. His innovations are seen even in regard to names. He gave his converts Hindu baptismal names, i. e., names other than those of the Roman martyrology.⁵⁰ He did not insist on Latin and traditional terms in regard to holy things. He allowed his "converts" to celebrate their marriages in the old fashions and made no opposition to either early marriage or the tying of the *tâli*. He did not

⁵⁰ He himself assumed, as Hough says, the name of *Tattvabôdha Svâmi*.

object to the superstition that the *tālī*, the emblem of marriage, should be suspended by turmeric-coated threads, or that it should have 108 threads. He did not again object to the use of the *margosa* twig, the breaking of cocoanut, the use of crowns to ward off devils, and scores of other superstitions. He did not insist on worship in the church or even the confessional. He did not stand in the way of his converts serving in Hindu temples, for instance, as musicians,—his idea being that profession had nothing to do with religion. He even positively subscribed to the Hindu idea of physical cleanliness and bath. He did not prohibit his disciples from wearing the holy ashes or studying Hindu fables and legends, religious and otherwise. In short, he recognized the social hierarchy of Hinduism, and conceded by a practical life that the Pariah could not claim equality with the Brahman, that caste was not inconsistent with true religion, that the minor rituals and the harmless ceremonies and superstitions did not clash with Christian beliefs and doctrines. It was these concessions that made the people think that he was a Sanyāsin. He might be an eccentric, an erratic Sanyāsin; all the same, he *was* a Sanyāsin. It was these concessions again that enabled him to speak boldly in certain respects with impunity and without being discovered to be a Christian. He said that of the four Vēdas, which the Hindus had known, three only were being studied, the fourth having been lost centuries back. He said that he had just rescued that Vēda from obscurity and that a study of it was more necessary than the study of the three other Vēdas for the salvation of the soul. And he boldly maintained that, according to that Vēda, the idols ought not to be worshipped; that the existence of the Hindu triad, Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva was a myth; that Chokkanātha, the object of their daily worship, was nothing but a piece of stone, a handiwork of man, deserving of worship as much as any piece of wood or stone. He was also against the rubbing of ashes, and against the worship of the *liṅgam*. In the place of the Hindu triad he substituted the Christian triad and Christ, and the Saints; but these were given such Hindu names that they could hardly be considered to be Christian.

His success.

The labours of De Nobilis did not go unrewarded. Many of the highest castes became his disciples. An Indian *guru* was baptized, after twenty days, controversy with him, under the name of Albert. By the year 1609 a family of 20 Nāiks, a near relation of the king, a brother of the grand warden of the palace, "a prince"—probably a Polygar,⁵¹ and many others of high social status and official dignity,—Brahmans and priests, Rajas and courtiers, Nāikens and Vellālas, flocked to the presbytery and became "Christians," if we can use the expression to such doubtful Christians. The profound scholarship and the pious life of De Nobilis, together with that good sense or duplicity which restrained him from offending the prejudices of his converts, enabled him to maintain a firm if not an enduring empire over the minds of his disciples. The latter were, for their part, much attached to him. They loved him as tender pupils, and as their fresh gratitude could not be restrained within the limits of prudence, the name of De Nobilis as a saint and scholar, as a sage and seer, spread widely, and reached the ears of Muttu Krishṇappa himself. The Karta at once expressed a desire to see such a great sage; but to De Nobilis a premature revelation of his mission would be a fatal blow at its eventual success. He therefore pleaded the excuse that, if he was flattered by the condescension of the Karta, he was unfortunately unable to take advantage of it, as his principle of life was against publicity and against the very sight of women, whom, he said, he was very sure to meet in case he stepped out of his humble home.

(To be continued.)

⁵¹ Nelson says that even Tumbuchchi Nāik, whom he absurdly styles the chief of all the Tottiyans from Vaipār to Vijayanagar, longed to become a Christian, but the fear of his suzerain prevented him from doing so. See *Madu. Manual*, p. 116.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

(Continued from Vol. XLII, p. 258.)

XXI.—The Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136.

THIS inscription was discovered by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, near the Chir Stūpa in his excavations at Taxila. The first line of this record, which contains the date, has very much exercised the scholars interested in Indian epigraphy. It runs thus: *sa 136 ayasa Ashādasa masasa divase 15*. Here the most knotty word is *ayasa*. Sir John takes it as the genitive singular of Aya, the name appearing in the Kharoshthi legends on the reverse of the coins of two Indo-Scythian kings called Azes in the Greek legends on the obverse. He translates the line by "in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Āshāḍha," and refers the year 136 to an era founded by Aya-Azes I¹. Dr. Fleet at first doubted the reading *ayasa* and tentatively proposed *viyasa* as a corruption of and in the sense of *dvitīyasya*. He is now, however, convinced in regard to the correctness of the reading, and does not hesitate to say on the strength of the forms *aañmi* and *ayañsi-asmin* supplied by Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen* § 429, that *ayasa* must be an equivalent of *asya*, 'of this'. Accordingly he gives the following translations:

"In the year 136 : of the day 15 of this present month Āshāḍha."

"In the year 136 : on the day 15 of the month Āshāḍha of this year."

Now, an epigraphist need not be told that it is exceedingly improbable that *ayasa* of this inscription is the genitive singular of Aya-Azes. No Hindu king has so far been mentioned in any Sanskrit or Prākṛit inscription without any regal titles or at any rate honorific prefixes or suffixes to his name specially as many years could not have elapsed since his death as appears to be the case from this interpretation. In fact, such a thing is opposed to the traditional Hindu sentiment of reverence for kings. Secondly, even if *aya* in *ayasa* really stood for Azes, the date 136 cannot be interpreted as a year of the era originated by Azes, but merely as a year, when Azes was reigning, but of an era started by another king preceding him. This is the only construction an epigraphist would put upon it on the analogy of similar wordings of the dates. There is therefore no recourse left but to interpret *ayasa* in a different and simpler way. Dr. Fleet no doubt takes it to stand for the Sanskrit *asya*. But this procedure, I am afraid, is open to objection. In the first place, on the analogy of *aañmi* and *ayañsi-asmin* which Dr. Fleet has cited on the authority of Pischel, we would expect *ayañsa* and not *ayasa* as the equivalent form of *asya*. Secondly, if this interpretation is accepted, the first line of the scroll inscription cannot be made to yield a natural sense. Because when the year 136 is actually specified, where is the propriety of speaking of the month Āshāḍha as *this* (i.e. the present) month or speaking of it as the month Āshāḍha of *this* (i.e. the present year)? Of course, if the year had not been mentioned along with it, there would have been perfect sense in referring to Āshāḍha as *this* (or the present) month or as Āshāḍha of *this* (or the present year). Such is not, however, the case. I cannot, therefore, help supposing that *ayasa* must be understood

¹ This view was first propounded by him in the *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, 1914, pp. 976-7 and subsequently defended in *Ibid.* 1915, p. 193 and ff. He still clings to the view (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*) *Annual Rep.* 1912-13, p. 19.

differently. And I give here my interpretation of the word for the consideration of the scholars, in order that they may take it for what it is worth. I take *ayasa* as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *ādyasya* 'of the first'. The corruption of *dya* into *yja* is as natural as into *jja*. Thus in Aśoka's Rock Edict VI we meet with *uyānesu*, *uyānasi* or *uyānāspi*, all standing for *utyaṇe* or *udyāneshu*. *Ādyasya* must, therefore, have become *ayyasa*;² and as it is unusual in inscriptions to mark the double or assimilated consonants and as long *a* is never shown in Kharoshthi records, *āyyasa* would be written as *ayasa*. Thus there can be no philological difficulty in taking *ayasa* of a Kharoshthi record in a north-west frontier dialect as the equivalent of *ādyasya*. The line may, therefore, be rendered into English thus:

"On the day 15 of the month of the first Āshāḍha (in) the year 136."

Dr. Fleet, who is the best authority on Indian astronomical literature, says: "Now, at the time of this record,—in A. D. 79-80 according to Dr. Marshall's opinion and my own; and some three centuries before the introduction of the Greek astronomy,—the Indian calendar was regulated by mean or uniform instead of true time. The intercalation of months was governed by a hard and fast rule. According to the Jyōtish-Vēdāṅga the fixed intercalated months (one half-way through the five-years cycle, and the other at the end of it) came next after Āshāḍha and Pausa." This fits here excellently; for, according to the astronomical system then prevalent there would be two Āshāḍhas. It was, therefore, necessary to specify in the Taxila scroll inscription which Āshāḍha was meant. And this explains the propriety of *ayasa* (= *ādyasya* = 'of the first') qualifying *Ashadhasa*.

The date 136 of this record has been taken to refer to the Vikrama era and consequently as equivalent to A. D. 79. Now, who could have been the *Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Khushna* referred to in the inscription as reigning in this year? The monogram on the scroll is characteristic of the coins of only Kujula-Kadphises and Vima-Kadphises. Kanishka and his successors are, therefore, entirely out of question. But these titles are found conjoined only to the name of Kujula-Kadphises, as has been shown by Cunningham. Again, while the image of Buddha has been found on some coins of the latter, it is conspicuous by its absence on those of Vima-Kadphises. This shows that Kujula-Kadphises could alone be the Kushana prince intended in this inscription. He must, therefore, be supposed to be living in A. D. 79, and it seems tempting to suppose that he was the originator of the Saka era. Some scholars have recently looked upon Nahapāna as the founder of this era, but this is impossible because during all the dates ranging from 41 to 46 that have been found for him he was a Kshatrapa and not Mahākshatrapa, clearly showing that he was a feudatory and could not therefore have started the era according to which his inscriptions are dated. The only paramount sovereign of this period was Kujula-Kadphises. This is indicated by his titles *Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra*. The probabilities are that he originated what is now known as the Saka era. The era does not seem to have flourished in the north where it was originally started but seems to have been

² It is also probable in the present case that *dya* was first changed into *jja*, and then into *yja* according to the north-west frontier dialect where *j* is very often replaced by *y*.

introduced by the Kshatrapas in south India where it lasted for more than three centuries and was consequently called Saka era after these Kshatrapas who were Sakas just as the Gupta era continued by the Valabhi princes came to be known also as Valabhi *saṃvat*.

XXII.—Partabgarh Inscriptions.

A new inscription has been found in Rājputānā, which is not without some importance. It was for years lying stuck up into a *Chabutrā* or platform near Chainram Agarvala's *trawari* or step-well at Partabgarh, capital of a Native State of the same name in south Rājputānā. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha, Superintendent of the Rajputana Museum, obtained tidings of it, hurried to the place, and secured the inscribed stone for the Museum through the good offices of the Maharajkumar of Partabgarh. The inscription is certainly worth editing, and I am glad to hear that the Superintendent has already forwarded a paper for publication to the Director-General of Archaeology in India. A summary of its contents will here not be unwelcome especially as the paper will take long to publish.

The inscription begins with the invocation for protection of the god Sun and of the goddess Durgā *alias* Kātyāyanī. The first is no doubt represented by Indrāditya and the second by Vaṭayakshiṇī of the text. The epigraph then divides itself into four parts. The first registers a grant made by Mahendrapāla II of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty reigning at Mahodaya (Kanauj). The language used in the genealogical portion, characterised as it is by the specification of the names of the queens and the faiths of the kings, is identical with that occurring in the copperplate grants of his family except in the fact that the portion pertaining to Bhoja II has been omitted from our inscription. The importance of the first part and consequently of the whole record is two-fold. First, it gives us the name of a new prince of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty, *viz.* Mahendrapāla II., who was a son of Vināyakapāla from his queen Prasāadhanādevī of the Devatha (?)rdhi family. The date of Mahendrapāla II. supplied by this inscription is V. S. 1003 (A.D. 946). For his father Vināyakapāla or Kshitipāla we have dates ranging from A. D. 914 to 931. It is worthy of note that this king had also another successor, *viz.* Devapāla, for whom the date V. S. 1005 (=A.D. 948) is furnished by a Siyaḍoṇī inscription. It thus appears that Mahendrapāla II. reigned between Vināyakapāla and Devapāla. Devapāla, again, appears to be a (younger) brother to Mahendrapāla II, for he must have been either a brother or son of Mahendrapāla and if he had been a son, he should certainly have been described as *pādānudhyāta* or successor of the latter, instead of Kshitipāla. He must, therefore, be a brother to Mahendrapāla II, supposing that Devapāla and Mahendrapāla were not names of one and the same king as is not impossible. In the second place, the importance of this epigraph consists in the fact that it finally sets at rest the controversy that had raged in regard to this Imperial Pratihāra dynasty. Three copperplate charters were issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) by the kings Bhoja, Mahendrapāla (I.) and Vināyakapāla (-Kshitipāla) whose dates were read by Dr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn as 100, 155 and 188 and referred to the Harsha era. They maintained that these princes could not be identified with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Peheva and Siyaḍoṇī stone-inscriptions, first because the former bore the subordinate title *mahārāja* and the latter, the paramount titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parama-*

meśvara, and secondly because the dates of the latter clearly ranged between V. S. 960 and 1005 and consequently they were posterior to the former by full one century. Fourteen years ago I wrote a paper combating this view. I contended that the title *mahārāja* did not necessarily denote a subordinate feudatory rank and could be appropriately applied even to an independent ruler, that the dates of the copper-plate inscriptions were wrongly read and ought to be read 900, 955 and 988 and referred to the Vikrama era so that they were in perfect conformity with the Vikrama dates supplied by the stone inscriptions, and that the very fact that there was a perfect agreement not only in the names but also in the order of succession of four princes mentioned in the copper-plates on the one hand and the stone inscriptions on the other, could not be attributed to a mere coincidence but was a conclusive proof in favour of their identity. Three years later a stone inscription was discovered near Sāgartāl in the close vicinity of Gwalior in which the agreement in names and order of succession extended to six generations, and, curiously enough, it suddenly brought round Prof. Kielhorn to my views. It is noteworthy that this new inscription contained no date and that no titles, subordinate or paramount, were conjoined with the names of any kings, and what I cannot understand is why the agreement in point of names and genealogical order was thought by Prof. Kielhorn to be sufficient when it was carried to six generations by this Gwalior record and not sufficient though it was carried to four generations before its discovery. The present inscription, however, clearly decides in favour of my view. All the names except Bhoja II. mentioned in the copper-plate grants are found in this stone record. Secondly, the title *mahārāja* which was so far found coupled with the royal names in the copper-plates only is repeated in this stone epigraph. In fact, as stated above, the actual language employed in the copper-plates to describe the genealogy is reiterated in this stone inscription, and to me it appears almost certain that this last is but a lithic copy of the grant originally issued in copper-plate by Mahendrapāla II. Whether we suppose that the grant was originally issued in copper-plate or in stone, the date of the present inscription can be read beyond all doubt; and this is the most crucial point. It is expressed both in symbols and in words. This is a most fortunate circumstance, for the words can never be doubtful whereas the reading of symbols is still so. Leaving aside therefore for the present the numerical symbols, the words indicate that the date is clearly 1003. Here then we have got an inscription which contains a word for word repetition of the genealogical preamble of the copper plates including even the title *mahārāja* and gives the date 1003 for a son of Vināyakapāla (-Kshitipāla) for whom the date 974 has been furnished, in words and consequently without any doubt, by a stone inscription. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the kings of the copper-plates are identical with the homonymous kings of the stone inscriptions and that the correct readings of the dates of the copper-plates which are denoted in symbols are not 100, 155 and 188 as done by Dr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn, but 900, 955 and 988 as shown by me and Dr. Hoernle. Now for the numerical symbols in which also the date of our inscription is expressed. The numerical symbols are *ṛso*, *saṁ* and *lṛi*. Of the first symbol the letter *l* is to be taken along with the preceding letters *saṁ* and *va* so as to form the word *saṁvat*. This is on the analogy of the dates expressed in the copper-plates of this dynasty. The remainder, viz. *ṛso*, must be taken to be identical with *sro* and to stand for 100 as ably shown by

Dr. Hoernle. *Saś* must therefore be understood to be a multiplier of the preceding symbol, viz. 100, and consequently to denote the figure for 10. Obviously the remaining symbol *l̥i* has to be taken to stand for 3. It is only by this interpretation that the symbols can be made to yield the date 1003. Our knowledge of the numerical symbols is yet neither exhaustive nor definitive, and the present inscription certainly adds to this knowledge by supplying two new symbols, one for 10 and the other for 3.

Now in regard to the details of the first part of the inscription. It records the grant, by Mahendrapāladeva (II), of the village Kharpparpadraka near Ghoṭṭavarshikā and situated in the western division (*pathaka*) of Daśapura to the goddess Vaṭayakshiṇī connected with the monastery of Harisheśvara, a Daśapura (Dasorā) Chaturvedī Brāhmaṇ. Daśapura has been universally identified with the present Mandsoor in the Gwalior State, and is the cradle of a Brahman caste called Dasorā who are found in numbers both in the Udaipur and Partabgarh States. Ghoṭṭavarshikā is Ghoṭārsī, 7 miles east of Partabgarh, and Kharparapadraka is Kharoṭ 7 miles south-east of Partabgarh. The dūtaka was Jagganāga and the grant was drawn up by *purohita* Trivikrama. It bears the full date *Saṃvat* 1003 *Margga* *radī* 5, and ends with the sign-manual of one Vidagdha, who probably was governor of the Daśapura division. It appears that Mahendrapāla originally issued a copper-plate charter whose contents were engraved on the stone along with the other grants.

The second part of the inscription commences with an account of a local Chāhamāna dynasty which made itself conspicuous first in the reign of the Pratihāra sovereign Bhoja I. The first prince mentioned of this family is Govindarāja. His son was Durlabharāja, and the latter's son was Indrarāja who erected a temple to the Sun called Indrāditya after him. Then we are told that at the request of this Indrarāja, Mādhava, son of Dāmodara, granted from Ujjain on the Mina-saṃkrānti day, after bathing in the temple of Mahākāla and worshipping the god, a village called Dhārāpadraka for repairs to and for the performance of *balī* and *charu* sacrificial rites on the site, in Ghoṭṭavarsha, attached to the god Nityapramudita. Mādhava, we are informed, was *Tantrapāla*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, and was at Ujjain. At that time, we are further informed, Samma, appointed by the Commander-in-chief Kokkaṭa was *charge d'affairs* at Maṇḍapikā, which seems to be no other than Maṇḍū in the Dhār State. If this identification is correct, Dhārāpadraka can be no other than Dhār itself. This grant is signed by Mādhava and countersigned by Vidagdha of the first grant.

The third part of the inscription commences with the date *Saṃvat* 999 *Śrāvaṇa* *sudi* 1, and says that on this day *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛipaṭṭa son of Khommāpa, granted to the god Indrarājāditya of Ghoṭṭavarsha, a field called Vamvūlika in the village of Palāsakūpikā. Palāsakūpikā is probably Palāsiā in the Partabgarh State. Bhartṛipaṭṭa is no doubt the same as Bhartṛipaṭṭa II of the Guhilot dynasty (vide *ante*, Vol. xxxix, p. 191 ff.). The fourth part registers three minor grants. The first is by Devarāja son of Chāmuṇḍarāja to the god Indrāditya. The second is by Indrarāja to the god Trailokyamohana in the grounds of Indrādityadeva. The third is by the local banias in favour of Vaṭayakshiṇī. In the last line we are told that the *prastā* was engraved by Siddhapa, son of Satya; and the inscription ends with the date *Saṃvat* 1003.

THE MANUSMṚITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS.

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, BOMBAY.

(Continued from p. 115.)

THE वंशकरी ऋषी are none but those spoken of in *Manusmṛiti* I 35. Another sage, Bhṛigu, is the father of Paraśurāma, but evidently he is not referred to here. Hence, if there remains no doubt as regards the redaction by Bhṛigu, there should be no doubt about his being earlier than the Buddhist poet either. The latter is supposed to have lived between 27-200 A. D.⁴ Bhṛigu, then, must have preceded him (considering those times) at least by a century. Therefore, his recension must verge (at least) on the beginning of the Christian era or lie even further back.

Second: let us turn to the कौ° अर्थ° 1. It quotes Manu about six times. We have already given three quotations ending with "इति मानवाः." Two more of this type occur on p. 177 (ch. 63) and p. 63 (ch. 25) of that book. The अर्थ° is supposed to have been written in the time of Chandragupta, the date of whose accession is 320-315 B. C. Hence, the original Law-book of Manu (the मानव°) must be placed earlier than 320 B. C. Whether those references to Manu's opinion are taken from the मानव° alone, or from it and the *Manusmṛiti* as well, we are unable to say definitely, although, circumstantial evidence favours the existence of the *Manusmṛiti* even at that date.

(A) The phrase "इति मानवाः" occurs many a time in the कौ° अर्थ° and also in the कामन्दकीयः नीतिसारः (T. S. Series No. 14. 1st ed., 1912.)⁵ The commentator on the latter interprets the phrase as follows:—"मानवाः मनोः शिष्याः" (cf. का° नी° II 3.3.) We may suppose, then, that "इति मानवाः" in the कौ° अर्थ° refers not to the मानव°, but to the law-books edited by the followers of the school of Mānavas. The most prominent of them must be Bhṛigu, because Nārada and Bṛihaspati, who follow Manu in many cases do not treat of politics. Hence "इति मानवाः" should refer (to the recension of the *Manusmṛiti* by Bhṛigu or, in other words, to our present *Manusamhitā*).

⁴ The date of Aśvaghoṣa is not yet definitely settled. It is true that he has much in common with Kālidāsa. Mr. Nandargirkar tries to prove (cf. *Introd. to Buddha* by Prof. Soāni p. 10) that he, in his poem (*Buddha*) III 23, referred to *Kumārasaṃbhava*. However, there are arguments which militate against his hypothesis that (*Buddha*) "सुद्धैर्मनोभिः खलु नान्यभावात्" "यम्" is a slap at Kālidāsa's "या शस्त्रमप्यस्य लभेत" (VII 65, *Kumāra*° Nir° Press. 5th ed., 1908).

In *Buddha*° V 23, we find "प्रविशेद्य पुनः पुरं न कामात्" and in I 85 "न खलु असौ न प्रिय-धर्मपक्षः." Again we have a peculiar construction of 'न' in VI 67 (Prof. Cowell's ed.). We have similes expressed negatively in VI 31 ff. From all these texts we should infer that the habit of using न to modify his ideas is peculiar to Aśvaghoṣa. We need not suppose that he refers to some particular person or a special book, whenever he qualifies his statement. Hence, the priority of Kālidāsa to him is not settled by referring to *Buddha*° III 23.

⁵ Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 12, seems to conclude from the two quotations in का° नी° that the *Mānavadī* were at the time, when this book was written, not generally recognized as a Vedic School (of Law). But the same way of quoting Manu obtained in comparatively quite recent texts. Moreover, we have pointed out in note No. 3, that Chāṇakya accepts definitions (of Manu and of others) which are not his own, without even giving their source. If the *Mānavadī* were not recognised at that time as a Vedic School of Law, it would not have been possible for Chāṇakya to quote them in his *Arthasāstra*, as inculcating one particular view on the matter.

(B) Manu is not the only authority referred to by Châṇakya. He quotes also Uśanas (i. e. Sukra), Brihaspati and Parāśara, the works of two of whom are found to be in metrical form. No scholar has maintained that they were ever written in *sūtras*. The *Sukraniti* is all in verses. The quotations from Brihaspati seem to be made from his *Arthasastra* (which is not extant)^a, and not from his *Dharmasāstra*. Analogy, therefore, favours the existence of the metrical Code of Manu in the time of Chandragupta.

(C) Turning back to the verse of the *Buddha*^b (I 47) which asserts the priority of Bhṛigu to Sukra, we may safely say that Bhṛigu's recension must have been in existence when Châṇakya was quoting from the *Sukra*^c.

(D) We come across quotations in the कौ० अर्थ०, which resemble closely enough the verses of the *Manusmṛiti*.

Cf. कौ० अर्थ० p. 274. ch. 108-10 "अदण्डनैश्च दण्ड्यानां दण्ड्यानां चण्डदण्डनैः ।" with *Manusmṛiti* VIII 128 a "अदण्ड्यान् दण्डयन्नाजा दण्ड्यांश्चैवाप्यदण्डयन् ।"

कौ० अर्थ० p. 217. ch. 82 "संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन समाचरन् । याजनाभ्यापनाद्यौनात्तैश्चान्योऽपि समाचरन् ॥" with *Manusmṛiti* XI 180 "संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् याजनाभ्यापनाद्यौनाज्ज नृयानासनाशान् ॥"

Cf. कौ० अर्थ० p. 151-2 ch. 59. "कन्यादानं कन्यामलंकृत्य ब्राह्मो विवाहः । सहधर्मचर्या प्राजापत्यः । गोमिथुनादानादार्थः । अन्तर्वेद्यासृष्टिर्ज्ञेयानात् देवः । मिथस्समवायात् गान्धर्वः । शुल्कदानादासुरः । प्रसङ्गादानाद्ब्राह्मणः । सुभादानात्सैश्वर्यः । पितृप्रमाणाच्चत्वारः पूर्वे धर्म्योः । मातृपितृप्रमाणाः शेषाः । etc." with *Manusmṛiti* III 24; 27-34. Here, we see at once the difference between a *Dharmasāstra* and an *Arthasāstra*. It is further illustrated by the way in which Châṇakya mutilates the verse of Manu (*Manusmṛiti* IV 138) "सत्यं ब्रूयात् प्रियं ब्रूयात्, etc." which becomes (कौ० अर्थ० p. 249. ch. 92) "पृष्टः प्रियहितं ब्रूयात् ब्रूयादहितं प्रियम् । अप्रियं वा हितं ब्रूयाच्चतुर्वक्तोऽनुमतो मिथः ॥"

It is readily admitted that there are differences besides resemblances between the two texts. This is also true of the का० नी० (which follows the का० अर्थ०); cf. XXI 53 "अदण्डनमदण्ड्यानां दण्ड्यानां चापि दण्डनम् ।"

^a That there is an *Arthasāstra* of Brihaspati can be seen from the following references:—

(a) *Buddha*^b I. 47. (Cf. p. 115.)

(b) *Mahā Droṇa*^c V. 151 (V. 18):

"सेनापतिः स्यादन्वोऽस्मात् शुक्राङ्गिरसवशनात् ।"

(c) Dr. Hertel's edition of *Pañchatantra* by Pārasharādhara, Vol. III. Specimens from the MSS. in Śāradā characters:

"बृहस्पतिः प्रनाथीकृत्य"

(d) का० नी० II. 34; V. 8, 88; VIII. 12, 5 etc. and कौ० अर्थ० pp. 6; 29 etc.

(e) *Bhāsa, Pratimā*^d (T. S. S. No. 42.)

"बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रम् ।" P. 79. Act. V.

(f) Commentary of Kullūka on *Manusmṛiti* IV. 19

"हितान्यर्थशास्त्राणि बार्हस्पत्यौशनसादीनि ।"

(g) Introductory verses of *Yājñā*^e and *Sukra*^f.

(h) *Pañchatantra*. (Bombay, S. Series, 2.)

"सुक्रस्य विष्णुमुपस्य मित्राभिर्नार्गवस्य च ।

बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो नीतिसन्धिस्त्रिधा स्थितः ॥"

also in का० नी० V. 88-8.

"बृहस्पतेरविश्वास इति शास्त्रार्थनिश्चयः ।"

What we want to show by means of paragraphs A, B, C and D is the *probability* of the existence of Bhṛigu's *Samhitā* in the time of Chandragupta. We are inclined to say that Chāṇakya had before him, Bhṛigu's recension, when he wrote his *Sāstra*, even though he differed from it. There can be no doubt, however, that the source of his ideas in these parallels were either the मानव alone, or they together with the *Manusmṛiti*. In case he is referring to the *sūtras* of Manu alone, we may suppose that he has quoted them word for word or has given a summary of them. If he is referring to the metrical *Smṛiti*, we may assume that he is abbreviating his quotations.

It might appear that we have taken Chāṇakya to be the author of the book called the कौ० अर्थ० without proving him to be so. The learned editor of that book has already established the authorship of Chāṇakya, but we can add to his arguments, proceeding on different lines.

The phrase "नेति कौटिल्यः" occurs often in that book, and it might perhaps lead some to suspect that either parts or the whole of the book is not written by Chāṇakya himself. Internal as well as external evidence help to remove this suspicion.

In the chapters where Chāṇakya (surnamed Kauṭilya) quotes other authorities and answers them, or adjusts their opinions, the conclusion we come to is that the answers must be from the author himself. P. 13-14 of the *Sāstra* may serve as an illustration. In the case of choosing a minister, various opinions are given. Finally, the author winds up the discussion with his own view and a supplementary verse.

Chāṇakya's discussions contain copious matter and are written in a vigorous style; they are quite in keeping with the 'thoroughness' ('सुकृत्स्न' cf. note 6. h) ascribed to him. The drama *Mudrārākṣasa* exhibits the same characteristics of this remarkable man. (It would be advisable to study this drama in the light of the principles of Kauṭilya.)

The author of the कौ० नी० professes to follow his revered *guru* Viṣṇugupta (*i. e.* Chāṇakya) and says that he has simply abbreviated his system (cf. कौ० नी० I 6-7, "तस्य दर्शनम्.....सहस्रिषमन्यमर्थवत् ।") In the same chapter we find a verse (I 60.) which is given in the कौ० अर्थ० at the end of p. 12, ch. 3. The system, then, containing 'the nectar of *Arthasāstras* (I 6.)' can be no other than that propounded in the कौ० अर्थ०.

The commentator of कौ० नी०, Saṅkarārya says in his commentary (on the first seven verses) as follows :—

“नमः शास्त्राय महते त्रिवर्गस्यैकयोगने ।

नमस्तस्य प्रणेते च कौटिल्याय महर्षये ॥” (on. v. 1.)

.....“यत् प्रणीताच्छास्त्रादिदं सञ्चितेषु, तस्याचार्यचाणक्यस्य कुलादिगुणसम्पद्दर्शनपूर्वकं पञ्चभिः श्लोकैर्नमस्कारमाह.....” (on v. 2.)“विष्णुगुप्तायेति सांसारिकी संज्ञा, चाणक्यः कौटिल्य इति द्वे जन्मभूमिगोत्रनिबन्धने । वेधस इति । वेधस्ते पृथक् शास्त्रप्रणयनादेवम् । ...” (on v. 6.)“यद्यमर्थशास्त्रप्रियत्वाद् राजविद्याविदां मतमुपदेक्ष्यामः नान्यशास्त्रविदाम् । सहस्रिषमन्यं कौटिल्यशास्त्रम् । तद्वि साशीति प्रकरणशतं यद् श्लोकसहस्राणि । इदं तु यद्विंशत् प्रकरणं संपादं च श्लोकसहस्रम् ।” (on v. 7.)

The last part of the commentator's remarks is very important. The book contains about 1215 verses; there are 36 chapters. In the कौ० अर्थ० there are 180 chapters, the number of verses, however, we could not control. But the same data are given in the कौ० अर्थ० p. 6. Anyhow, the commentator on *Nitisāra* has identified Kauṭilya with Chāṇakya and has said that the writer of the *Arthasāstra* is Kauṭilya. It seems, indeed, we might feel sure about the authorship of the कौ० अर्थ०.

Mallinātha,⁷ in his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* (cf. Nandargirkar's ed. Poona, 1897.) XV 29, quotes (from the कौ^० अर्थ^० p. 45, ch. 19) under the name of Kauṭilya, "स्वदेशानिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निदेशयेत् इति" and on the same verse, another commentator on *Raghuvamśa*, Chāritravardhana, quotes under the name of Chāpakya "अनिष्यन्दवमनेन शाखानगरं इति चापक्यः ।" Both of them, evidently, refer to one person and one book, and can the latter be any other than the कौ^० अर्थ^० ?⁸

Thus we have made good our assumption (p. 11.) that the present Manusmṛiti existed in the time of Chāpakya, i. e. before 320 B. C. That मानव^० existed at that time needs no proof.

Bhāsa,⁹ in his प्रतिमानाटक (Act V., T. S. S., p. 79,) puts the following sentence in the mouth of Rāvaṇa :—

"साङ्गोपाङ्गं वेदमधीये मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं महेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं मेधातिथेन्यायशास्त्रं प्राचिनसं श्राद्धकल्पं च ।"

Accordingly, we put the मानव^० earlier than Bhāsa ; but, at present, we cannot do the same with the *Manusmṛiti*.

⁷ Mr. Nandargirkar, in his *Raghuvamśa* (Poona, 1897) appendix B, has, under 'कौटिल्य', चापक्य and कामन्दक, an excellent list of quotations from the *Arthasāstra* and *Niśāstra*, to be found in the commentary of Mallinātha. The work of Kauṭilya was not published, when he prepared his edition of *Raghuvamśa*. It will be interesting for a scholar to investigate the influence exercised by Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka and Manu on Kālidāsa.

Cf. कौ^० अर्थ^० p. 38, ch. 16.

"पठे स्वैरविहारं मनवं वा सेवेत ।" with विक्रमोर्वशीयम् II 1.

"पठे भागे स्वमपि दिवसस्यात्मनदलुन्दवर्त्ता ।"

(or " " " लभते देव विश्रान्तमङ्गः ")

⁸ See this question (of the authorship of the कौ^० अर्थ^०) fully treated by Hermann Jacobi, Bonn, in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie S. J., der Wissenschaften*, 1912, XXXVIII.

I am indebted to my Professor Rev. Fr. Zimmermann, who pointed out to me this as well as other passages, bearing on this essay, written in the German language. I am not in a position to study them first-hand at present; but I am assured that in no essential point am I repeating the arguments of other scholars.

⁹ It appears that some of the works of Bhāsa have not been recovered yet. A quotation given in the *Pratimā* (T. S. S. No. 42. Introd. P. XII) refers to the *Kāvya* of Bhāsa. It runs as follows:—

. . . "भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मान् (?) " "सोऽग्निरपि भासमुनेः काव्यं विष्णुधर्मान् मुखात् स्थक्त्वान् नादहदित्यर्थः भासव्यासयोः काव्यविषये स्पर्धा कुर्वतोः सर्वोत्कर्षवर्तित्वेन परीक्षकान्तराभावात् परीक्षार्थमभिमुख्यं तयोर्द्वयोः काव्यद्वयं भिन्नम् ।" [This matter was noticed in this journal long before Mr. T. Ganapati Śāstri edited the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* (Ante, Vol. XLII, pp. 52-3).—D. R. B.]

If *Kāvya* here does not mean drama only, then we may hope to find still some *Kāvya* of Bhāsa like *Raghuvamśa*. We have not heard that Vyāsa has written dramas; hence, competition may be in poems, like Kālidāsa's.

In the commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, on the first verse of *Śakuntalā* (Nirṇ. Press, Bombay, 5th ed., 1909, p. 2, l. 27th), we find the following sentences :

"अवाशिषि सभ्यानां तानः । अत एव 'आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपाः' इति भरतेन, भासेनापि 'आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तु' इत्यादावेवाशीर्निबद्धा ।"

Bhāsa, therefore, like Bharata Muni, must have written a work of dramaturgy. We may recover it in course of time. If he wrote such a work, we may naturally suppose that he is not the first to write a drama. It may be that Saumillaka and Kaviputra (प्रयितयदसौ भासमौमिद्विककविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धान् *Mela*^० of Kālidāsa Act. I) may have preceded him and the word *Bhāsa* may have been placed first according to the rules of compounds.

If other books mentioned along with the "मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रम्" be in verses, we may well suppose the existence of the Metrical Code of the Laws of Manu at Bhāsa's time.

It is remarkable that the colophon of the metrical *Manusmṛiti* has the phrase "इति मानवे धर्मशास्त्रे" which is nearly the same as "मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रम्" of the *Pratimā*.

For our purpose, it is necessary to enter here into the question of the date of Bhāsa. Mr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri has pointed out in his introduction to the *Seapnavādsavadattā* of Bhāsa (T. S. S. No. 75, p. xxvii) that Chāṇakya in his *Arthśāstra* (p. 365-6, ch. 150-152) quotes from Bhāsa. That one has borrowed from the other is certain and the learned editor decides that Chāṇakya is indebted to Bhāsa.

We agree with him, because Chāṇakya, as a rule, quotes from other sources, discusses the various opinions and then lays down his own dicta. After all being said and done, he winds up the chapter with his own verses. From this peculiar method of his, we can confidently say, that excepting the verses at the end of each chapter, (we are not sure even of that exception), every verse occurring in the midst of the discussion is some quotation used by him to justify indirectly, (or to amplify), his own rules, or to set them off well. Therefore, Mr. Śāstri is quite right, when he says that Bhāsa is quoted by Chāṇakya.

Whether they were contemporaries or not, we cannot say. The latest date we can assign to Bhāsa is 320 B. C. (the date of Chāṇakya), and the मानव^२ must be earlier than 320 B. C. We cannot assign the upper limit of its date because we do not know how many years or centuries it would require for a book to become a universal standard in the whole of India. We must have, at least, a century for a book (of this nature) to be written, published and made popular in those days, when there was no printing and when there existed comparatively but few means of communication. Hence the मानव^२ may be placed earlier than 400 B. C.

On account of sufficient circumstantial evidence, (cf. pp. 125-27), we take it for granted that Chāṇakya had known the *Manusmṛiti* (in the recension by Bhṛigu) and hence, at present, we place the date of *Manusmṛiti* between 400-320 B. C. According to the account of *Buddha*, we can push the date beyond Śakra, his *Nītiśāstra* and quotations from it.

It will also be seen, from the material adduced, that our date justifies the tradition which claims a high antiquity for the *Manusmṛiti*. And no one will deny that Bhṛigu must have existed earlier than Aśvaghoṣa, at least, at the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁰ That we can rely on him (Aśvaghoṣa) is beyond doubt, as we meet with statements similar to his (cf. note No. 6) in widely different branches of the Sanskrit literature. Again, according to the accounts of the *Nārada*^२ and the *Purāṇas*, the metrical *Manusmṛiti* (whoever the author may be) must be placed before 400 B. C. (i. e. before Bhāsa). On the Paurāṇic statement we would not place too much reliance, however.

We have seen, while comparing the *sūtras* of वैखानस^२ with the verses of *Manusmṛiti* how cleverly Bhṛigu has preserved the laws of Manu. Taking all this into account, we recognise that the tradition rightly attributes time-honoured sacredness to the Laws of Manu, although, in course of time, they may have changed their outward appearance.

¹⁰ Cf. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa* XIV. 67.

"नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यस्त एव धर्मो ननुना प्रणीतः ।" with *Manusmṛiti* VII 17; 35.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 224.)***Discovery and persecution.**

The success of De Nobilis brought persecution in its train. A few men called him a sage superior to ordinary men, and therefore the enemy of ordinary idol worship. But the large majority, especially the priesthood, looked on his teachings with alarm. They found out that, Sanyâsin though he posed himself to be, he was not a friend of their creed. They therefore set up a tremendous agitation against him. In their hatred they imputed every misfortune of their country to his pernicious teachings. They said that the gods were unwilling to shower rain in a place where his vile feet trod. They said that he was a magician who had the devil for his servant, that he was a wizard who bewitched people by the ashes of children, whom he was supposed to kill and burn. The priests and *paṇḍârams* of the temple, as well as the scholars and leaders of the lay society, blew up the popular discontent into a furious mutiny, and concluded in an assembly that, unless De Nobilis was banished, rain would not come. They then approached the Karta and pointed out how De Nobilis was an atheist, who denied the Hindu Trinity, who depreciated the god Chokkanâtha, who condemned everything good and wholesome in the religious life of the people, and concluded that he was in reality a Turk, who was audacious enough to call himself a Râja, to dress in the salmon colour, to have Brahman servants, and above all, to study the Vêdâs and other sacred literature. We do not know what Krishṇappa did in response to the popular appeal. We have no materials which illustrate his attitude in the matter. Evidently he did not engage in any persecution. But he could not prevent popular indignation, or perhaps official sympathy with it. The Brahman servants of the preacher were seized, their top-knots were cut, their sacred cords removed, and their eyes plucked out. De Nobilis himself was in danger, and the whole "Christian" world prayed in despair. But De Nobilis was not wanting in friends who could save him. A prominent chieftain of the day, whom the Jesuits call Erumaikaṭṭi, was, though not as yet a convert, a greater friend than the most bigoted convert.

Reaction in his favour.

He exerted his influence to soothe the popular ferment and persuaded the Brahmans of the harmlessness of his friend. His generosity went further, and procured for him a site, strangely enough from the temple grounds, for the building of a more spacious place of worship for himself and his disciples. The progress of the edifice was a little delayed by the indignant accusation of the priest of the Chokkanâtha temple that De Nobilis was a Parangi, as he heard that he ate with Fernandez. But De Nobilis had the duplicity to reply that,⁵² if his adversary proved him to be a Parangi, he was prepared to lose his eyes,—an assurance which satisfied the priest and facilitated the building of the church. By the end of 1610 it was half finished. Built of brick with flat roof and including three

⁵² It was on this occasion, evidently, that De Nobilis produced "an old dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed shewing that the Brahmans of Rome were of a much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the God Brahma." Hough, II, p. 231.

aisles with columns of black granite, it had a very elegant interior and was much suited to excite devotion.

The new danger from Christians.

The building of the church was followed by important events. First there came in September 1610, another Missionary, Antonio Vico, to assist De Nobilis. Secondly, the Parava and other low caste converts thronged to see the new church; and the people as well as "the converts" of De Nobilis found out that the latter was "a Parangi." At once there was a huge outcry. The so-called Christians stopped away from the church. New conversions ceased, and it required the liveliest efforts of De Nobilis to restore confidence. He issued a notice denying that he was a Parangi, and stating that he "was not born on their soil; nor am I allied to their race. I was born in Rome; my family are of the rank of noble Rajas in that country. The holy spiritual law does not oblige a man to renounce his caste. He who says this law is peculiar to Paravans or Parangis lies." This communication diminished the panic and, together with the friendly endeavour of Erumaikatti, kept the progress of Christianity out of danger from the Hindus. But new dangers soon arose. This time they came not from the Hindus, but from the Christians themselves, and this takes us to the next reign.

SECTION III.

The advent of the European Nations in the Southern Seas.

The reign of Muttu Krishnappa did not only see the establishment of the Jesuit mission, but also the coming of the rival European nations in South India. The Portuguese had been the dominant people in the East and monopolised its trade; but in the 17th century they were destined to go down in the race for commercial supremacy consequent on the rise of the two Protestant nations, the Dutch and the English. It was in June 1595 that Cornelius Houtman⁵³ rounded the Cape and laid the foundations of the Dutch commercial greatness in the East. From that time onward the Dutch sailors and merchants distinguished themselves by attacking their Iberian rivals in the Indian waters and carrying away immense spoils. A brilliant succession of victories led to the establishment in 1602 of the Dutch East India Company with the privilege of trade monopoly in the East. The achievement of the Company was both rapid and steady. During the very first year of its life its men landed in Ceylon and succeeded, in the face of Portuguese⁵⁴ jealousy and hostility, in entering into an alliance with the king of Kandy. Within the next five years they erected factories, after occasional failures, over an area ranging over a thousand miles,—“at Mocha, Cambay, Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Sumatra, Java, Kamboje, Siam, Cochin-china, Tonquin, China and Japan.” These victories made the Portuguese more

⁵³ See Rea's *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company*, based on the *Madras, Malabar* and other *Manuals*.

⁵⁴ The Portuguese had first come to Ceylon in 1505. "Their first visit was only temporary, but in 1517 they appeared again with a fleet, built a fort at Colombo, and finally forced the king of Ceylon to acknowledge himself a vassal of Portugal, and to pay an annual tribute of cinnamon, rubies, sapphires and elephants. Hostilities, however, soon recommenced, and continued during the whole period of the Portuguese occupation of the island. In 1597 died Don Juan Dharmapaula, who had been baptized by the Portuguese, and had afterwards obtained the throne of Ceylon. He bequeathed his dominions to Philip II, by which act the Portuguese acquired their title to the sovereignty of the island." *Madras Manual*, p. 118.

reasonable, and acknowledge, by a formal treaty, the right of the Dutch to trade with the East. From this time the Dutch progress was even more rapid. In 1609 they established a settlement, with Emperor Vēṅkaṭapati's permission, at Pulicat, a place of the greatest commercial importance in the 16th century, and built a fort therein.

The English were comparatively not so successful. The first Englishman to arrive in Ceylon was Ralph Fitch (in 1609). Three years later, Lancaster touched on the island on his way home from the East Indies. In the subsequent voyages of the London East India Company the objective was primarily the East Indies Archipalego, and secondarily Western and Northern India. The first really serious attempt to establish a trade settlement in India was made in 1611. In that year Captain Hippon departed from the usual route of trade, and sailed up the east coast of India, and touched at several points occupied by the Dutch. The latter were jealous of the new competitors, and tried, both by direct opposition and by intrigue with Indian States, to prevent them from effecting a settlement. Captain Hippon touched at Pulicat, for instance, but the Dutch governor, Von Wersicke, refused to allow him to trade. Leaving a small establishment at Pattapoly, Hippon sailed to Masulipatam, and there succeeded in establishing, with Golconda's permission, a factory. It was the first in South India, in fact the whole of India, and formed the foundation of the English trade in the East Indies. The Company, of course, owned no territory here, but were simply permitted by the Kutb Shah to build a factory or trade-house and transact business on the coast. "The factory was not a manufactory, for nothing was made there; it comprised merely warehouse, offices and residential accommodation for the factors and their guard. The trade consisted in the importation from Bantam, and occasionally from England direct, of specie and European manufactured goods, the sale of the latter, and the 'investment' of the former in purchase of calicoes, chintz, and muslins by advances made to local weavers. The calico or 'long-cloth' was sent to England, while other cotton goods were readily absorbed by the Java market."⁵³ The Dutch possessed not only a mere factory at the Golcondah port, but a fortified settlement at Pulicat, 160 miles further south, and this gave them a double strength in their endeavour to check the English trade. Pulicat and its neighbourhood produced the best cotton goods, while at the same time the fortress of Geldria enabled its possessors to save themselves from the oppressions of any local chief. The English, on the other hand, were subject to the twofold evils of official oppression and comparative lack of trade facilities.

SECTION IV.

Muttu Virappa (1609-23).

In the year 1609 Muttu Kṛishṇappa died and was succeeded by his son Muttu Virappa, who had Tirumal Nāik, to become famous later on, as his second. The history of Muttu Virappa's reign⁵⁴ is a dark age in the Madura annals. There is no inform-

⁵³ H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, p. 12.

⁵⁴ The *Garna. Dynas.* and *Supple. MS.* say that he ruled from 1580 (S. 1502, *Vikṛiti*) to 1622 (S. 1544, *Dunmati*). The former of these mentions nothing about this monarch except that his second was Tirumal Nāik. The *Pand. Chron.* on the other hand, attributes his reign to from 1609 (*Śubhakṛit Vyākṛiti*) to 1623 (*Dundumī Ani*). Wheeler says that he ruled from 1604 to 1626. This is of course wrong, as well as his statement that it was Muttu Virappa that created the Śētupatī. He is also wrong in saying that "Vijaya Ragananda" of Tanjore wished to give Trichinopoly to Virappa in exchange for Vallam, but that nothing was done; for we have already seen that Trichinopoly came into the hands of Viśvanātha I. and was the real capital of the Nāiks.

ing material from which the historian can give a clear and complete estimate of his character and conduct, his virtues and vices. The Jesuit missionaries say that Virappa was a tyrant, who allowed his ministers to oppress his subjects with impunity; but this is, in all probability, a statement based more on prejudice than on truth; for, as we shall see presently, the questionable means which Robert de Nobilis adopted to convert the people, naturally provoked a severe condemnation from Muttu Virappa, and the Jesuits, seeing their freedom curbed, did not hesitate to blacken his name. However it was, there is no doubt that Virappa was loyal to his imperial suzerain. A copper plate of 1609, *Saumya*, the very year of his accession, says that that Emperor Vēṅkaṭa gave the village of Nāganallūr or Muttu-Vira-mahīpālasamudram to certain Brahmans at the request of Muttu Virappa.⁵⁷ In 1617, again, Vēṅkaṭa records a gift for Virappa's merit at Trichinopoly.⁵⁸ A copper plate charter of 1620 in mixed Tamil and Grantha characters says that Raghunāthadēva Mahārāja, the son of Sri Vēṅkaṭadēva Mahārāja, was the agent of Muttu Virappa at Urayūr.

The War of Imperial Succession, 1615-17.

The most important event in the reign of Muttu Virappa, however, was the part he took in the great war of succession which broke out immediately after the death of Vēṅkaṭapati I. in 1614. It was with the co-operation of Muttu Virappa that Jaga Rāya, the champion of the deposed and putative son of Vēṅkaṭa, extended the contest, when he was defeated⁵⁹ in the vicinity of Chandragiri, to the southern parts of the Empire, as against Echchama Nāik, and the really legitimate and successful candidate, Rāma, usually styled Rāma IV. Muttu Virappa seems to have believed that the defeated party was in the right and that the victor (Rāma) was a usurper. He therefore joined Jagadēva, while the Tanjore Nāik, Achyutappa, or his son Raghunātha (Achyutappa had about 1614 installed his son Raghunātha as the king of Tanjore) and joined the right cause. Barrados does not give the result of the struggle, for he wrote in December 1616, by which time the war had not ceased. "There are now assembled in the field," he concludes, "in the large open plains of Trichinopoly, not only 100,000 men, which each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers." But Rāma eventually won, as an inscription⁶⁰ at Penukoṇḍa, dated 1620, sufficiently testifies. Indeed⁶¹ that he succeeded in making his power in the south even by then is clear from an inscription at Ammankuruchchi in Pudukkōṭṭai state.

⁵⁷ *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1905.

⁵⁸ Inscription 135 of 1905. The year mentioned there is *Piṅgaḷa*; but it is doubtful, nay certain, that it was not Vēṅkaṭa I. who gave the grant. Because he died in 1615. But even if he was a relation of the imperial family, the inscription is an evidence in favour of Virappa's vassalage. On the other hand, inscriptions 122 and 123 of 1907 found at Alvār Kuruchchi and dated respectively 1610 and 1612, do not mention a suzerain. The former of these is at the Vanniappar shrine and records a gift of land for Muttu Virappa's merit to the deity. An insc. of 1617 records gift of certain privileges to the vassal-lagers of Adichehanai, by one Chinna Tippa Rāhuttar Aiyar, to Virappa's merit (*Ep. Rep.* 1911, No. 556). An inscription of 1613 in the eastern tower of Madura (*Antiquities*, I, 292) and two others of the same place in 1623, the last year of the Karta, also do not mention the suzerain.

⁵⁹ The civil war, as described in detail by Barrados, is fully reproduced and discussed by Sewell, in his *Forgotten Empire*. The Pudukkōṭṭai plates of Varatuṅga Rāma Pāṇḍya seems to refer to this war, but it is difficult to see how events which happened after 1614 have found mention in a record of 1583. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 57.

⁶⁰ Inscription 11 of 1896 and Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 27-8. The name of the Tamil year given here, *Kāḷayukti*, is wrong by two years. That he was recognized by Chīmā Rāja Udayar of Mysore is seen in a grant of 1623. See *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1908, p. 23.

⁶¹ *Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 43-4.

Muttu Virappa and Tanjore.

The war is illustrative of the mutual animosity of the Nāiks of Madura and Tanjore. Till 1614 the great Achyutappa Nāik had ruled the latter kingdom and then installed his son Raghunātha⁶² and retired into private life with a view to spend his days in pious seclusion at Śrīraṅgam. The imperial war of succession seems to have broken out just before Achyutappa's abdication, so that the actual share in it fell to his successor. Raghunātha Nāik was, like his father, a great patron and votary of literature and a pious and generous⁶³ builder; but his reign began under gloomy auspices. For the armies of Muttu Virappa and his Pāṇḍyan vassal were victorious over the Tanjore and imperial forces, and destroyed the Kāveri dam, and occupied the southern part of the kingdom. "A lasting testimony to their occupation is found in the name of the seaport Adirampatnam, which is clearly called after the great Pāṇḍyan king Ativira Rāma (1565-1610)." The war, however, ultimately ended in favour of Rāma Rāya, the claimant for whom Tanjore stood; and Raghunātha Nāik seems to have eagerly listened to the peaceful overtures of the southern power, and married a Pāṇḍyan princess with a view to cement the new alliance. Unfortunately we are not able to say distinctly who was the Pāṇḍyan monarch that took part in these affairs. The latest date for Ativira Rāma is about 1610 and yet a seaport is named after him years after this. A colleague or subordinate of his was Varatuṅga Rāma, and he is said in the Pudukkōṭṭai plates to have fought in the great war, but the date is inconsistent, and no inscription of his later than 1589 has been found. Above all an inscription of 1615 says that the then Pāṇḍyan king was Varaguṇarāma⁶⁴ Kulāśekhara, who had also the honour of performing a *yāga* and so obtaining the title of Sōmayāji.

Muttu Virappa and Mysore.

It is extremely curious that Barrados is silent about the Mysore chief in this important war. From his silence, we cannot infer that Rāj Uḍayār did not join in it. Such an inference would not be warranted by the condition of the times. By the year 1610 he succeeded⁶⁵ in capturing Śrīraṅgaṭṭam itself and thus putting an end to the imperial

⁶² The *Tanjore Gazr.*, p. 39, based on Mr. Kuppasami Sastri's pamphlet.

⁶³ See Chapter XI.

⁶⁴ *Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 59 and 148. Varatuṅga's latest inscription is that at Karivaḷam Vandanallūr, dated 1589. See *Antiquities*, I, 306.

⁶⁵ Wilks' *Mysore*, I, 27. The story of Rāja Uḍayār's refusing to appear in the Śrīraṅgaṭṭam court with the same music and paraphernalia as the Kembala chief shews his general aim even before his acquisition of the viceregal capital. *Ibid*, p. 24. One of the *Mack MSS.* gives a curious version of the events which preceded Rāja Uḍayār's seizure of Śrīraṅgaṭṭam and in which Muttu Virappa also is said to have been involved. It says that in S. 1512 Śrī Rāṅga Rāya died at Penukōṭṭa and was succeeded by his son Vēṅkaṭapati. While he was ruling Virappa Nāik of Madura went with a large army against Tirumal Rāya, the Viceroy of Śrīraṅgaṭṭam. The latter with his Daḷavāi (Vēṅkaṭa by name) marched to meet him. A battle took place at Paṇi. Virappa was defeated and his province invaded and plundered. Unable to gain in the field Virappa resorted to diplomacy or rather the method of corruption. He bribed the Daḷavāi and induced him to betray his master, proceed to Śrīraṅgaṭṭam and usurp the viceregal dignity. Tirumal Rāya, however, got soon his freedom; but when he went to Śrīraṅgaṭṭam Vēṅkaṭa refused to hand over the power. Civil war followed, and Tirumala had to retire. But at Vēṅkaṭa's instigation even the village in which he resided was attacked by the Polygars. At this crisis, we are told, Rāja Uḍayār took the cause of Tirumal, beat the Polygars who opposed him and proceeding to Śrīraṅgaṭṭam, made himself by intrigue the master of the place in S. 1531, *Saunhya*, i. e., 1609 A. D. *Rest. Mack. MSS.*, II, 72-3. This story is unique and needs confirmation from other sources.

viceroyalty. The keen soldier then devoted himself to the extension of his control over the other chiefs of Carnāṭa. He had already conquered "Auka Hebbal, Kembala, Karugulle, Arrakera and Talcaud, etc.", and he now proceeded to annex the territory of Jagadēva Rāya in the north and of Nanja Rāja of Ummattūr in the south. It is not improbable that he took advantage of Jagadēva's defeat in the war of succession to annex his possessions. It is even more probable that he helped Echchama Nāik and Śrī Rāma, with a view to bring about the fall of Jagadēva. For, by Jagadēva's misfortune he gained. By opposing him he would have more than made up for his recent policy towards the imperial viceroy. In all this he was not only an enemy of Jagadēva but of Muttu Virappa, his ally. At the same time his conquest of the powerful Nanja Rāja Uḍayār of Ummattūr and the annexation, besides Ummattūr, of the estate of Harnhally which had belonged to him (together with the district of Terkanamby), put an end to the existence of a buffer state which existed between Madura and Mysore. From this time onward the frontiers of the two kingdoms met, and naturally gave rise to, a number of border wars and troubles. The region covered by the modern district of Coimbatore was henceforth the scene of constant warfare between the Uḍayārs of Maisūr and the Nāiks of Madura. We may well believe that in 1616, when Jagadēva and Muttu Virappa fought against the Emperor and Tanjore. Rāja Uḍayār probably joined the latter. Rāja Uḍayār died in 1620, but his grandson and successor Chāma Rāja, an equally aggressive and ambitious monarch, carried on the policy of consolidation within and aggression without, and as a result, came into frequent struggles with Madura.

The Raid of Mukilan.

The Madura chronicles narrate the invasion of a Muhammadan adventurer named Mukilan, which took place in the course of these frontier struggles. Nothing definite is known about this man, his origin or office. He might have been an employee of the Mysore king or a servant of the Sultan of Bijapur. He might have been, on the other hand, an independent chieftain, who wished to carve out a principality for himself at the expense of his neighbours. However it was, about 1620 he burst into the north-west frontier of the kingdom and spread terror for scores of miles. His ferocious troops swept the country from the frontier to Dindigul and the endeavour of the Polygars to check him proved futile. They however soon found a leader in the Polygar of Virāpākshi, who, rallying the scattered men of his brother chiefs, met the invader near Dindigul, inflicted a crushing defeat on his arms, and drove him out of the kingdom. In recognition of this service, we are told, the king distinguished the merit of the victorious Polygar by bestowing on him the title of *guardian of the roads*. A similar or the same invasion is described in the account of the Kannivāḍi estate. It says that a certain Mukilan penetrated the north-west frontier of Madura, conquered the country from the mountains to Dindigul, and invested that place. The Polygars of the region under the lead of Naḍukkuttali Chinna Kadir Nāik of Kannivāḍi, gave battle to the besiegers and inflicted on them such a serious defeat that they had to retreat to Mysore. The victorious general was then, we are told, rewarded by the gratified king with the title of *Chinna Maisūrān*, and with the first place among the Dindigul Polygars. The defence of Dindigul itself in future was left under his charge. All this munificence of Virappa was not misplaced. It was, on the other hand, an act of prudence. For it created in the Kannivāḍi chief a loyal and faithful lieutenant, whose capacity and vigilance were, from this time, of immense service to the peace and security of the kingdom. Kannivāḍi was henceforth a stronghold of

loyalty and the seat of a line of Polygars, who were the traditional saviours of the Nāik Rāj from external foes. As we shall see presently that his great-grandson Raṅgappa Nāik was the right hand man of Tirumal Nāik's great general Rāmappaiya, and took no small share in the military greatness of that hero.

The progress of European nations.

The European nations made steady progress on the coasts and islands of the peninsula, even in this reign. In 1620 the Danes, for instance, obtained the village of Tranquebar, ⁶⁶ 18 miles north of Negapatam, with a few adjoining villages, from the Nāik of Tanjore for an annual rental. The Danish East India Company was established by Christian IV. in 1616. Their first ship left Denmark in 1618 under a Dutchman named Roeland Crape, and was attacked and sunk by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast. The Commander and thirteen men escaped to the court of Tanjore. One Gedde, a Danish nobleman, was the second man who came to Tanjore. It was he and Crape that concluded the treaty with the Nāik in November 1620, by which Tranquebar and 15 villages in the neighbourhood were handed over to them for the annual rental of Rs. 3,111.

The English did not keep idle. They had already two possessions in the Coromandel coast, and they now asked Emperor Vēṅkaṭa to give them permission to establish factories further south in his dominions. Induced by the solicitation of the merchants of his country, he seemed disposed to grant a settlement to the agents of the English East India Company; but was dissuaded by the Dutch, who had already established themselves at Pulicat.⁶⁷ The Dutch in fact were slowly becoming the masters of the East Indies trade. In 1614 they made a settlement at Siam, in 1617 at Ahmedabad, and in 1619 overthrew the English at Java and built the city of Batavia, henceforth the seat of their government. In 1621 they made alliance with the English and even allowed them to establish a settlement at Pulicat, but soon jealousy led to the massacre of the Amboyna and to the decision of the English to turn in future to the mainland of India. The Dutch did not only stand in the way of the English, but also of the Portuguese, with whom they were in deadly contest. In the Indian coasts, in the coasts of Burma and Strait Settlement, in the Spice Islands, in the seas of China and Japan, the two nations fought; and the fight in Ceylon and Mannar was only a part of this world struggle. Slowly but steadily they took the Portuguese possessions. In 1610, the year of Virappa's accession, the Portuguese warred with the king of Kandy, drove him to take refuge in the mountains, captured and burnt his city, and compelled him to submit to their supremacy in the island and place his two sons in the hands of some Franciscan monks to be brought up as Catholics. But in March⁶⁸ 1612 the Dutch

⁶⁶ Tranquebar remained in Danish occupation till 1865 when the English purchased it for Rs. 21,000. The healthy nature of the place made it an important place in the religious history of the South India. In 1810 the settlement so flourished as to have 19,000 people. It is even now a principal station of the Lutheran evangelical missions. The only Hindu building there is the Siva temple partially washed away by the sea,—wherein is found an inscription of Kulaśekhara Dēva Pāṇḍya (95 of 1891). Tranquebar was called Sedangampadi and Kulaśēkharanpatnam. Its God is called Maniswara or Masilamani. The Jerusalem church there was founded by Ziegenbalg, "whose quaint but valuable treatise on the South Indian Gods is still the only work of reference on the interesting subject of Tamil village deities." (*Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1891, p. 4). See also *Ante*, XXII, 1893, pp. 116-122.

⁶⁷ Wilks, I, p. 39.

⁶⁸ Danvers II, p. 148-149. The Portuguese, after this assumption of nominal authority, made a systematic settlement of the revenues. For details, see Danvers, II, pp. 157-158.

outbade their adversaries, and entered into a formal alliance with the king, by which the former were to be allowed to build a fortress at Kottiyar, and each party was to help the other against their enemies. Two Dutch-men were, moreover, to be on the king's council, for the purpose of advising him on all affairs of war, and the Dutch were to enjoy full freedom of trade throughout Ceylon, together with the monopoly⁶⁹ of cinnamon. This treaty, however, seems not to have been enforced in some parts of the island. Here the Portuguese remained masters. As usual their behaviour was always violent, and more detrimental to their interests than the sword of their enemies. "Not only were the common soldiers permitted to roam about and rob the people of the country without let or hindrance, but the behaviour of those in higher positions was such towards them that the people fled from their homes to the mountains, rather than submit to the intolerable license and lust of these persecutors."⁷⁰ Cruelty gave rise to revolts. The king of Kandy never ceased to regard them with hostility and waged perpetual war. In 1617 affairs became complicated by the imposture of an adventurer named Nicapati. The Portuguese indeed emerged out of it unscathed; but the very next year the king of Jaffnapatam rose against them and refused to pay tribute. He was however defeated and sent to Goa as a prisoner. In 1620, one Changali Kumara made himself king, and when the people however refused to submit to his authority, he sought the alliance of the Tanjore Nâik, who had, for commercial reasons, an eye on Jaffnapatam. Vijaya Râghava gave him a ready assistance, and effected his restoration and despatched 2,000 Vaduga troops, under "Chem Nâik, the king of Carcas" to occupy that place; but these were beaten and foiled in their design by the Portuguese General Olivera. The only heir to Jaffnapatam then embraced, together with his mother and retainers, the Catholic faith, and bequeathed his kingdom to the Portuguese.

The supremacy in Ceylon and the triumph even over the Tanjore Nâik left the Portuguese the masters of the Mannar trade and the pearl fisheries. But they were not destined to enjoy the triumph long. In 1621 the truce between Spain and Holland came to an end as a result of which the ports of Portugal were closed to the Dutch. The latter thereupon resumed their warfare, carried it into the Indian seas, and heaped untold losses on Portuguese trade. Ormus was taken and Cochin reduced to a state of defenceless ruin. The internal condition of Portuguese India was at the same time, miserable. The men that came to India were unfit for service, and individual Portuguese, regardless of patriotism, traded directly with the Dutch. Illicit trade ruined the state finances. Special measures were indeed taken to put an end to the depression. Certain kinds of head dresses, for instance, were prohibited, so that the sale of linen might increase; a one per cent. consulate was established in the ports to provide artillery for their defence; still, the finances did not improve. Owing to extensive smuggling in Goa, Ceylon, and other ports, the absence of control over the farmers of the villages in the Portuguese settlements, the wretched system of giving hereditary appointments, and the obnoxious habit of sending the orphan girls of Lisbon to India and providing them with husbands and dowries in the form of offices, naturally ruined the finances and demoralised the services of the State. The priesthood contributed even more to this ruin. The religious orders were far out of proportion to the people. Supported by the government, they wallowed in wealth at the expense of the State

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 155. See also *Mon. Rem. Dut. E. I. Co.*, p. 6 which says that in return for the monopoly of the cinnamon trade the Dutch were to pay a yearly tribute to the king, but it is doubtful if it was ever enforced.

⁷⁰ *Danvers*, II, p. 169.

coffers. They were so numerous and excessive that for every Portuguese laymen there were two of them. Mere numbers would have made them obnoxious to the State, but their conduct was even more obnoxious. Their over-bearing arrogance reached such a climax, that the number of conventual institutions had to be limited and the establishment of new ones prohibited. They even dared to engage in illicit trade with the Dutch, hoping that their position saved them from suspicion, and special inspectors had to be appointed to check this evil.

Such was the condition of the European nations at the time of Tirumal Nâik's accession. The Dutch and the Portuguese were fighting a deadly struggle. The latter were gradually being ousted not only by their loss in war, but by the rotten condition of their empire. The subjugation to Spain, the corruption in service, the bad financial system, the lack of good men for the army and navy, and above all, the presence of the Jesuits and other religious orders, crippled the resources of the State, and made it an easy prey to the Dutch. One thing is clear in this state of things,—that, while the State was dwindling in strength, the Church was growing at its expense. And the remarkable success which the Jesuit mission was to obtain in Madura and elsewhere during the reign of Tirumal Nâik was due to that singular, if unscrupulous, prosperity it enjoyed.

SECTION V.

The Jesuit mission controversy.

We saw in the last chapter how a new epoch in the labours of De Nobilis¹¹ came into existence on account of the opposition that arose within the church itself against him. The opposition was aroused by the questionable means he employed in his proselytism. Many of his measures were indeed cordially approved by his co-religionists, for example, his insistence on the study of the popular languages, his condemnation of polygamy, his opposition to idol-worship, his advocacy of a better ideal of marriage, his spirit of self-sacrifice and ascetic self-abnegation which was ready to undergo any personal torture; but with these commendable features were combined certain other features which were in the eyes of many of his co-religionists not only heresy but crime. His colleagues and superiors were, as a rule, narrow and shortsighted men. Unable to conceive anything original, they became an obstacle to all originality. Common-place in their principles and practices they were the enemies of genius. They took the slightest deviation from the orthodox line for a rank heresy and the slightest concession to the prejudice of converts for an ignoble surrender to the barbarism of the heathen. They were scandalised by De Nobilis' conciliation of Hindu prejudices and acceptance of Hindu social ideals, customs and superstitions. These were the very points which De Nobilis considered to be the fundamental condition and merit of his work. Their crusade therefore struck at the very root of his principles. They denounced his avoidance of intercourse with the Parangis on the ground that it was against the equalising spirit of Christianity. They considered his denial of Parangi birth as a lie. They condemned his adoption of Hindu titles like *Guru*, *Aiyar*, *Raja*, etc., and his wearing the hair, the sacred thread and the sandalwood paste in Hindu fashion. In a word, they considered De Nobilis as an enemy, rather than as a pillar of Christianity. Father Fernandez, who was perhaps actuated as much by jealousy as by sincerity, was the chief spokesman of

¹¹ It may be pointed out here that an English Jesuit missionary, Father Thomas Estavao, worked at this time (1580-1619) in the Canarese districts. He was a great scholar in Canarese. For a short account of his life and labours (based on Hakluyt) see *Ante*, Vol. VII, 117-18.

this movement. He wrote to the Provincial of Malabar enumerating these charges and concluding that De Nobilis was spoiled by paganism. Father Laerzio, the Provincial, was a personal friend and admirer of De Nobilis. He therefore took no steps against him, and even persuaded the Archbishop of Cranganore to support his view. The indefatigable Fernandez, however, did not keep idle. When a new Provincial came in the person of Father Perez, he resumed his charges in "a voluminous memoir." The result was De Nobilis was summoned to Cochin to appear before a synod of the Fathers and answer the charges. De Nobilis made a masterful defence, but was unable to satisfy a tenacious Father, Pimento by name. The case was therefore carried to the archbishop of Goa. He too was convinced of De Nobilis' reasonings, and expressed his admiration of the great missionary. But the perseverance of Father Fernandez and Pimento kept the question a burning one and brought it to the notice of the Pope himself. The result of this formidable crusade was, De Nobilis was ordered to suspend⁷² his work till a regular inquiry into the charges was made and a settlement arrived at. No greater blow, says Nelson, ever befell Christianity in India. The encouragement of De Nobilis might have resulted, he says, in the conversion of the great majority of the people of Madura to Christianity. There is too much of optimism in this view of Mr. Nelson; but the truth of it cannot be denied. The suspension of De Nobilis was indeed a blow from which Christianity never recovered. True, he was in the long run acquitted and his principles were vindicated; but the momentous interval of ten years during which the controversy was prolonged, was enough to shake the prestige of the new creed, to undo much of the past achievements and to retard much of the new. Brahmans ceased to come to the new creed, and De Nobilis himself, in spite of his eventual victory, had to leave Madura and seek fresh scenes of labour.

It does not lie within the province of the general historian to go into the details of the various decisions and counter decisions, the arguments and answers, of the controversialists during this period of ten years. It is enough for our purpose to note that, after a good deal of anxiety and suspense on the part of De Nobilis, a decision in his favour was given by Pope Gregory XV in Jan. 1623. The papal bull recorded that, as the Brahmans were "kept from confession of Christ by difficulties about the cord and the *kudumi*," he accorded to them "and other gentiles the cord and the *kudumi*, sandalpaste and purification of the body," providing only that they should not be received in Hindu temples, but from priests after blessing. It was a result entirely due to the brilliant defence De Nobilis made of himself in a memorial he addressed to the Pope. The defence was that of a deep and wellread scholar of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit. He maintained in it, first, that the titles of *Guru*, *Sanyasi*, *Aiyar* and *Raja* were applicable to himself, as they simply meant respectively a teacher, an ascetic, a householder and a nobleman. Secondly, he defended his disavowal of his being a *Parangi* on the ground that it was generally used only in connection with a vile drunkard and shameless race of half-castes, that the Portuguese were wrong in calling Christianity *Parangi mârgam*, and that he was a *Parangi* neither by birth nor by character. De Nobilis, however, did not see or would not see that as the Indians used the term indiscriminately towards all Europeans, he was simply saying a half-truth when he denied that he was a *Parangi*. But the clever sophistry of the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine was convincing enough to Gregory's mind. With regard to Hindu

⁷² Nelson gives 1625-1638 as the period of De Nobilis' suspension; but Chandler says 1613-1623.

usages and emblems, De Nobilis argued that the *kudumi* was simply a sign of *caste* and not religion; that the *cord* was similarly a social and not sacerdotal term; that the sandal-paste was simply an adornment common to all sects and neither superstitious nor improper. Lastly he defended baths as having nothing in common with religion. He also appealed to the examples of the early church, of Peter and Paul, against excess of severity and fanaticism of feeling in the conversion of heathens. Arguments like these could not but persuade, and the result was the Bull of Jan. 1623.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

AN EMBASSY FROM VIJAYANAGAR TO CHINA.

WHEN reading Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches* (Vol. II, p. 211; Kegan Paul, ed., 1910), I came across the following passage briefly describing an embassy from the Rāya of Vijayanagar to the Emperor of China; which does not seem to be in the recollection of Indian historians.

'A-NAN-GUNG-DE, a kingdom in SI-TIEN. In 1374 Bu-ha-lu, the ruler of this country, sent his "chief explainer" (*kiang-chu*), by name Bi-ni-si, with tribute to the Chinese court. He brought among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralizing poison. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom.'

Bretschneider points out that *Si-t'ien* (Western Heaven) is a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works. He also correctly identifies A-nan-gung-de with 'Annagoondy', the Kanarese name sometimes used as an equivalent of Vijayanagar.

A short article in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908) makes the identification more precise. 'ANEGUNDI—old town and fortress in Rāichūr District, Hyderābād State, situated in 15° 21' N. and 76° 30' E., on the left bank of the Tungabhadra. Population (1901), 2,266. It is the seat of the Rājās of Anegundi, who are lineal descendants of the kings of Vijayanagar. Anegundi and Vijayanagar on the opposite bank are popularly identified with

the Kishkinda of the Rāmāyana . . . Anegundi means "elephant-pit", being the place where the elephants of the Vijayanagar Rājās were kept.'

Thus there cannot be any doubt concerning the kingdom referred to by the Chinese author.

Although Bretschneider was not in a position to identify the prince who sent the embassy, there is no difficulty in doing so. He was Bukka I, who enjoyed a long reign as Rāya from an uncertain date to A. D. 1376¹ and attained to great power. His history, so far as known, is related at length by Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, (1900), who did not apparently happen to notice the record of the mission to China. Although Bukka suffered severe defeats at the hands of the Sultans of Bijāpur, and never ventured to assume the full imperial titles, he is said by Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, to have 'conquered many lands' and to have been at the time of his death 'not less feared than esteemed, and obeyed by all in his kingdom.'² The reason for his sending an embassy to China is not apparent, and I do not understand the meaning of the designation of his envoy as 'chief explainer' (*kiang-chu*). Nor can I give the equivalent of his name *Bi-ni-si*. It may be some name beginning with *Vinaya*.

Bretschneider notes that in 1443, Shāhrukh, son of the mighty Timūr, sent an embassy to the king of Vijayanagar, who was then Dēva Rāya II. The reference is to the well known mission of Abdu-r Razzāk.³

VINCENT A. SMITH.

¹ Krishna Shāstri in *Ann. Rep. A. S. India*, 1907-8, p. 242. Sewell (p. 47) placed the death of Bukka 'about A. D. 1379,' but the earlier date, 1376, seems to be settled by epigraphic evidence.

² *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

³ See Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, IV, 89. Sewell (*op. cit.*) also discusses the ambassador's narrative.

MULLUR.

BY LEWIS RICE, C. I. E

MULLUR, the equivalent of which in English would be Thornton, is the name of a village in the north of Coorg, of some interest historically. It was a chief place of the Kongāḷva kingdom, which was founded by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja, described as the friend of the virgin daughter of Kavēra, that is, the river Kāvēri, whose source is in Coorg. The date of this event was 1004 A. D., and it arose out of the conquest by the Chōḷas of the Changāḷvas, who were rulers of the east and north of Coorg and of the neighbouring Hunsār country in Mysore. These were defeated at the battle of Panasoge by a Chōḷa army commanded by Panchavan-mārāya, which is a Pāṇḍya designation. But the victory was mainly due to the persistence of an officer named Manija, who gained his reward in being installed in possession of the Yēlusāvira or Seven Thousand country in the north of Coorg, and the adjoining Arkalgūḷ and Hole-Narsipur tāluqs of Mysore, with the title of *Kshatriya-sikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva*, and Mālavvi was given him as a personal estate. This is a beautiful mountain, now called Malambi, whose needle peak, rising to about 4500 feet, is a conspicuous landmark to all the country around. The compact kingdom thus carved out for Kongāḷva, bounded north and east by the Hemāvati river and on part of the south by the Kāvēri, most likely corresponded more or less to the Kongal-nāḍ Eight Thousand province of which the Ganga prince Ereyappa was governor in the latter part of the 9th century.

The Kongāḷvas were Jains by religion, and Mullūr derives its interest at the present day from a group of ruined *basadis* or Jain temples intimately connected with them. The inscriptions there inform us that a distinguished Jain named Guṇasēna was the *gurū* to the royal family. He was of the Draviḷa or Tivūḷa-gaṇa, Nandi-sangha, and Arungaḷ-anvaya, the disciple of Pushpasēna, whose footprints are engraved on a slab in front of the Sāntiśvara basadi.

Rājādhirāja-Kongāḷva's mother, Pēchabbarasi, who was a lay disciple of Guṇasēna, had caused the Pārśvanātha basadi to be erected, and his son, Rājēndra-Kongāḷva, endowed it in 1058, in the name of Guṇasēna. The father had also provided the latter with a dwelling place there, while Guṇasēna, on his part, had the Nāga well excavated as a work of merit for the town. 'The figure of a cobra is.'

Guṇasēna gained the abode of Mōksha-Lakshmi (or died) in 1064. 'Proficient in the supreme *ārhanṭya* and other the three jewels, all the great science of grammar, the *āgama* and others, and the six established systems of logic;—such as the *vratipati* Guṇasēna-āryya, praised of the *āryyas*'. But his fame was not confined to Coorg, for he is included in the line of notable Jains named in the elaborate and interesting inscription No. 54 at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa, of the date 1128. He is there described as a gem from the *Vidūra-sāra-vasudhā*—the *vaiḍūrya* (lapis lazuli or ultramarine) country of Mullūr. Perhaps an indication of mineral wealth in the place.

The next mention of it is in 1176, when Vira-Chōḷa-Kongāḷva, in the presence of members of the Hoysala royal family,—Tāyi (mother, the queen mother) Padumala-Dēvi, Sōmala-Dēvi (her daughter, noted for her beauty and virtue), and others,—made a grant of the customs-dues in the Mullu-nāḍ Seventy.

We then come to 1296, in the reign of the Changāḷva king Harihara-Dēva, when a number of Coorg chiefs united in a siege of the Mullūr fort.

The last mention is in 1390, in which year a Jain priest named Bāhubali-dēva gained possession of the Pārśvanātha basadi, which had been erected in the time of Rājādhirāja-Kongāḷya for the merit of his mother Pōchabbarasi,—and restored it. He also produced before the Vijayanagar king Harihara II the record of the endowments granted to the temple, and succeeded in getting them renewed. To ensure their continuance, that monarch made a grant of Muḷḷu-nāḍi to an officer named Gonka-Raḍḍi-nāyaka, as a recognition of his bravery, which had been brought to notice by his commander Guṇḍappa-daṇḍāyaka. And among the peoples said, in Belur No. 3 of 1397, to have been subdued by the latter are named the Kuṭakas, which evidently means the Koḍagas or Coorgs in the Tamil form.

N.B.—In my paper on Kollipāka (*ante*, Vol. xlv. p. 213) a correction is needed in the statement regarding the British Museum plates. The grant recorded in them was made to the *image* of Amperumāl or Rāmānuja (the Vaiṣṇava reformer of the 11th century) set up at Śrīperumbūdūr, which was his birthplace.

THE AUTHOR OF THE SŪTRAS ATTRIBUTED TO VALMIKI

BY RAO BAHADUR K. P. TRIVEDI, B. A.; SURAT.

IN his article on *Trivikrama and His Followers* published *ante*, Vol. XL., August 1911, Mr. Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin of Vizagapatam has tried to come to the conclusion that the *Sūtras* of Prākṛita grammar attributed by Lakṣmīdhara in his *Shāḍ-bhāṣhāchandrikā* to Vālmiki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are composed by Trivikrama. I am editing the *Shāḍbhāṣhāchandrikā* for the Bombay Sanskrit Series and have found on a careful examination of the question that Mr. Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin's conclusion is not correct. It is based upon the following grounds. I shall take up each of them and show how fallacious it is:—

In Trivikrama's *Vṛitti* on the *Sūtras*, which is designated *Trivikramadevavirachita-Prākṛita-Vyākaraṇa-Vṛitti*, the following three verses occur, which are taken by Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin as a decisive proof that the *Sūtras* are composed by Trivikrama himself:—

- (१) प्रकृतेः संस्कृतात् साध्यमानात् सिद्धाय यद्वेत् ।
प्रकृतस्यास्य लक्ष्यानुशीलि लक्ष्म प्रचक्षते ॥
- (२) प्राकृतपदार्थसार्थप्राप्त्यै निजमूत्रमार्गमनुजिगमिष्यात् ।
वृत्तिर्यपार्थसिद्धयै त्रिविक्रमेणागमक्रमात् क्रियते ॥

The third verse after the end of the work in the words *संपूर्णमिदं प्राकृतवाकरणम्* is as under:—

- (३) सप्रत्ययप्रकृतिसिद्धमसीर्षसूत्रसरकारके बहुविधक्रियमाणवेद्यम् ।
शब्दानुशासनमिदं प्रमुणप्रयोगं वैविक्रमे जपत मन्त्रनिवार्यसिद्धयै ॥

I shall translate each of these verses into English and show what is in my opinion meant thereby. The first means:—

(1) We shall explain the characteristics consistent with what is defined or explained in the *Sūtras* (consistent with what is given in the *Sūtras*) of those Prākṛita words which are derived from their original Sanskrit words whether in a formed (ready) or formative stage.

Mr. Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin remarks on this verse—"Trivikrama says that he is composing the *Sūtras* himself in the verse 'देद्यमाणं च' &c. Here प्रचक्षते shows that Trivikrama is the author."

Now the word प्रचक्षते does not occur in the verse 'देदयमार्यं च' &c. which is as under:—

देदयमार्यं च कड्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वाच्च भूयताम् ।

लक्षणं वक्ष्यते तस्य संप्रदायोपबोधकैः ॥

Nor does the above verse (1) प्रकृते: in which the word प्रचक्षते occurs show that Trivikrama is the author of the *Sūtras*. He says he gives characteristics of Prākṛita words in consonance with the *Sūtras* relating to them. This evidently means that he is the author of the *Vṛitti* as stated in the verse (2) प्राकृतपदार्थ^० which follows it and also in the verse

तद्वत्तत्समदेदयप्राकृतरूपाणि पदयतां विदुषाम् ।

वर्णितयेदमवनी वृत्तिस्त्रैविक्रमी जयति ॥

which comes after verse (2) in the *Prākṛitavyākaraṇa Vṛitti* of Trivikrama.

(2) The second verse प्राकृतपदार्थसायंसायै^० means:—

For the correct (proper) success of those who wish to follow the road of their own *Sūtras* (Jain works on moral, social, and religious duties composed by Gautama Gaṇadhara and others), a commentary is composed by Trivikrama in the order of traditional *Sūtras*, in order that they may acquire a company consisting of the sense of Prākṛita words.

A few words in this verse need further explanation. In the Jain literature certain works are called *Sūtras*. They deal with religious and worldly subjects and are in the Prākṛita language. निजसूत्र thus means the Jain *Sūtras*. To the Jains like Trivikrama they are their own *Sūtras*. आगमक्रम means परंपराप्राप्त सूत्रक्रम, order of the *Sūtras* which are handed down by tradition. Trivikrama takes up the *Sūtras* in their serial order while explaining them. He does not know who the author of the *Sūtras* is, but he considers them to be very old, handed down by tradition. In following a way a man requires company (सायं) and the sense of Prākṛita words is represented as the company, and in order that you may comprehend the proper sense of Prākṛita terms, Trivikrama composes this commentary. An introductory verse which precedes verses (1) and (2) has also the word सूत्र used in the same sense, viz., Jain works on religious and other subjects written in Prākṛita. It is as under:—

अनल्पार्थः सुखोच्चारः शब्दः साहित्यजीवितम् ।

वचः प्राकृतमेवेति मतं सूत्रानुवर्तिनाम् ॥

This clearly means that the opinion of those who are the followers of the *Sūtras* (Jain works), is that the very life of literature is a word full of much sense and capable of being pronounced with ease and Prākṛita is the form of speech. In short, according to the followers of the *Sūtras*, the *Sūtra* form is the best form of literature and Prākṛita is the best language for them. Thus the argument that the use of the word निज in verse (2) is a conclusive proof of the *Sūtras* having been composed by Trivikrama falls to the ground. Nor is it necessary to take the word निज in the Tāmil sense of 'proper', 'real', or 'true', as Prof. E. Hultzsch suggests in his Preface to the *Prākṛitarūpavatāra*.¹

(3) The third verse सप्रत्यय^० glorifies the *Śabdānuśāsana* composed by Trivikrama. *Śabdānuśāsana* simply means grammar—शब्दश अनुशिष्यन्त अनेति. Trivikrama calls his commentary on the *Sūtras* by this name, just as the *Bhāṣyakāra* Patañjali begins his exhaustive commentary by the words 'अथ शब्दानुशासनम्.' The words सप्रत्यय^० are no doubt complimentary to himself and अशीर्षसूत्र is complimentary in so far as he has selected

¹ Vide p. 5 of *Śimharāja's Prākṛitarūpavatāra*, edited by Prof. E. Hultzsch.

for his commentary a work in which the *Sūtras* are small. It cannot prove that the *Sūtras* are Trivikrama's own composition. The concluding verse

वक्तारसन्तु सर्वेपि स्वाभिप्रायप्रकाशने
स्वपराशयसंवादि कयास्वेकस्त्रिविक्रमः ॥

contrasts Trivikrama with other authors. The sense is that all speakers can easily express their own ideas, but Trivikrama alone is clever in expressing others' ideas faithfully. Here the second half of the couplet would be without any purport if Trivikrama be the author of the *Sūtras*.

Moreover, if the *Sūtras* were Trivikrama's own composition, at the end of the *pādas* or the *adhyāyas* we would have found words like स्वोपज्ञप्राकृतव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तौ or त्रिविक्रमविरचिते प्राकृतव्याकरणसूत्रे स्वोपज्ञवृत्तिनि as in *Srutasaṅgāra's Auddāryachintāmaṇi* (°श्रीभुतसागरविरचिते औदार्यचिन्तामणिनाम्नि स्वोपज्ञवृत्तिनि प्राकृतव्याकरणे). But the words at the end are:

'इति श्रीमद्देवेन्द्रविद्याभुतिधरमुनिचन्द्रप्रसादाश्रितसमस्तविद्याप्रभावत्रिविक्रमदेवविरचितप्राकृतव्याकरणवृत्तौ प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः समाप्तः।' Similarly, we have either प्राकृतव्याकरणवृत्तौ or त्रिविक्रमवृत्तौ or त्रिविक्रमदेवविरचितायां प्राकृतव्याकरणवृत्तौ at the end of other *pādas* of the first and the other *adhyāyas*.

Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin states in the course of his paper that Lakshmidhara was the first to originate the tradition that the *Sūtras* belonged to Vālmiki. He was misled by प्राचेतसहेमचन्द्राद्यान् a wrong reading for प्राच्यैराहेमचन्द्रमाचार्यैः.

This is not correct. It is surely too much to conceive that Lakshmidhara had the reading प्राचेतसहेमचन्द्राद्यान् before him for the correct reading प्राच्यैराहेमचन्द्रमाचार्यैः according to Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin. (The reading in the copy of a MS. at Mysore with me is प्राच्यैराहेमचन्द्राचार्यान्). What authority has he to think so? The conception seems to me to be quite unwarranted. Lakshmidhara does not entertain the least suspicion in his mind as to the authorship of the *Sūtras*, but positively mentions Vālmiki as their author. This can be accounted for in either of the two ways only. He must have come across manuscripts of the *Sūtras* in which the name of Vālmiki as author is clearly expressed or he must have learnt that the *Sūtras* were traditionally ascribed to Vālmiki in which case, however, it is reasonable to suppose that he might have said 'वाल्मीकिः किल सूत्रकृत्' instead of 'वाल्मीकिसूत्रकृत्'. A manuscript of the *Sūtras* is noticed in a *Descriptive Catalogue* by Rāo Bahādur M. Rāṅgāchārya.² It is incomplete, containing two *adhyāyas* only. It begins on folio 17a of the MS. of *Yohiprāptilakṣhaṇam*.³ The *Sūtras* are the same as those commented upon by Trivikrama, Lakshmidhara, and Siṃharāja; since they are as under:—

संज्ञा

सिद्धिलोकाय ।

अनुक्तमन्यथास्मानुशासनवत् ।

संज्ञा प्रत्याहारमयी वा ।

सुप्स्वादिरेत्यहला ।

The end

कखेलाग्वसः (the correct reading being कासेरवाद्वासः) ।

न्यसो णिनणुमो ।

गृ (घ) हेनिरुवारमेराहबलहरपग्गाहिपणुआः ।

² Vide No. 1548, p. 1083 of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, Vol. III. of 1906.

³ Vide No. 943, p. 680 of Rāo Bahādur Rāṅgāchārya's *Catalogue* Vol. II. of 1905.

The following are the opening verses of the MS. :—

येन श्रीरामचरितमधिगम्य सुरर्षितः ।
 श्रीमद्रामायणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै वाल्मीकये नमः ॥
 येन निर्मालिता ना(गा)वः षड्भाषाकृतयो नृणाम् ।
 विमलैः सुकृतकैस्तस्मै वाल्मीकये नमः ॥
 स्वान्तस्य काव्येन गिरां च वण्णां
 सूत्रैर्नराणां कलुषं प्रपस्या ।
 परकरोद्यः प्रथमः कवीनां
 वाल्मीकिमेनं मुनिमानतोऽस्मि ॥

The colophon of the MS. is as under :—

इति श्रीवाल्मीकियेषु सूत्रेषु द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य पादश्चतुर्थः । अध्यायश्च समाप्तः । प्राकृतव्याकरणशास्त्रमपि समाप्तम् ।

It will be seen that in this Ms. the authorship of the *Sūtras* is attributed to Vālmiki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But since the opening verses embody a salutation to Vālmiki, the verses cannot be taken to have been composed by Vālmiki himself. They are evidently handed down by tradition. But from the beginning and the concluding portion it is clear that Lakshmidhara was not the first to originate the tradition that the *Sūtras* belonged to Vālmiki, as is supposed by Bhaṭṭanātha Swāmin.

There is an additional ground for presuming that the *Sūtras* are not composed by Trivikrama, but are the work of a sage named Vālmiki. In a mythological work called *Sambhuraḥasya*,⁴ 267th chapter is devoted to the praise of Prākṛita. The following are some of these verses :—

- वचः प्रियं भगवतः प्राकृतं संस्कृतादपि ।
 प्रौढोक्तेरपि हृद्यं हि शिशूनां कलभाषितम् ॥ १२ ॥
 (1) को विनिन्देदिमां भाषां भारतीमुग्धभाषितम् ।
 यस्याः प्रचेतसः पुत्रो व्याकर्ता भगवानुषिः ॥ १३ ॥
 गार्ग्यगालवशाकल्यपाणिन्याद्या यथर्षवः ।
 शब्दराशिः संस्कृतस्य व्याकर्तारो महत्तमाः ॥ १४ ॥
 (2) तथैव प्राकृतादीनां षड्भाषाणां महामुनिः ।
 आदिकाव्यकृशचार्यो व्याकर्ता लोकविश्रुतः ॥ १५ ॥
 यथैव रामचरितं संस्कृतं तेन निर्मितम् ।
 तथैव प्राकृतेनापि निर्मितं हि सतां मुने ॥ १६ ॥
 यावत् संस्कृतभाषायाः प्राशस्त्यं भुवि विद्यते ।
 तावत् प्राकृतभाषाया अपि प्राशस्त्यमिष्यते ॥ १७ ॥
 (3) शाकल्यपाणिन्यादीनां वाल्मीकिश्च यथा मुनेः ।
 न तारतम्यं तद्वत् स्यात्तद्व्याकरणयोरपि ॥ १८ ॥
 (4) पाणिन्याद्यैः शिक्षितत्वात् संस्कृती स्याद्यथोत्तमा ।
 प्राचेतसव्याकृतत्वात् प्राकृत्यपि तथोत्तमा ॥ १९ ॥
 (5) न तावता प्राकृती सा भाषा दुष्या कथंचन ।
 वाल्मीकिर्वचसां देव्या रामादीनां च संमिता ॥ २० ॥
 (6) प्राकृतं चार्पमेवेदं यद्वि वाल्मीकिशिक्षितम् ।
 तद्वर्णनं वदेद्यो वै प्राकृतः स्यात् स एव हि ॥ २४ ॥

⁴ A portion of this voluminous work comprising four chapters devoted to the praise of poet and poetry, treatment of Prākṛita words (प्राकृतशब्दप्रदीपिका), and a poetical work called राघवयादवीय with a commentary is printed in Telugu characters in the year 1890. This was brought to my notice and supplied to me by my friend A. Anantāchārya Sāstri of Bangalore to whom my best thanks are due.

तस्मात् संस्कृतस्यैव प्राकृती चापि भारती ।
मान्यते शास्त्रसत्त्वज्ञैः किमतस्त्वज्ञभाषितैः ॥ २८ ॥
न तच्छ्लाघ्यं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला ।
नासौ योगो न तज्ज्ञानं नादके यन्न रस्यति ॥ ३२ ॥
तस्मात् काव्यं चिकीर्षूणां बुभुक्षूणां च धीमताम् ।
अवश्यं प्राकृतं प्राप्य यथैव किल संस्कृतम् ॥ ३३ ॥

It is stated distinctly in these verses that Vālmiki, the first poet, is an expounder of Prākṛita grammar, a grammar of six dialects, Prākṛita and others, just as Gārgya, Gālava, Śākalya, and Pāṇini are the expounders of Sanskrit grammar, and that he has composed a work in Prākṛita on the life of Rāma like the one composed by him in Sanskrit.

Thus there is conclusive evidence to prove that Trivikrama is not the author of the *Sūtras* and that the author of the *Sūtras* is a sage Vālmiki.

On a careful examination of the *Sūtras* in question with those of Hemachandra it seems to me very probable, almost certain, that the author of the *Sūtras* in question is later in age than Hemachandra; for the *Sūtras* are an abridgment and improvement upon those of Hemachandra. They are more concise on account of the acceptance of the terminology of Pāṇini (' अनुक्तमन्यशब्दानुशासनवत् ' ॥ १/१/२॥) and the adoption of the special *Samjñās* invented.⁵ In some cases one *Sūtra* corresponds to two or three of Hemachandra. There is another work of Prākṛita grammar, *Andāryachintāmaṇi* of Srutasāgara, in which the *Sūtras* appear virtually the same as those of Hemachandra.⁶ In conciseness, however, they are inferior to the *Sūtras* attributed to Vālmiki. The following table of a few *Sūtras* will show clearly how the *Sūtras* of Vālmiki are superior in conciseness to those of Hemachandra and Srutasāgara:—

Hemachandra.	Srutasāgar.	Vālmiki.
(१) अन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्य ॥८/१/११॥ } न श्रुतोः ॥ ८/१/१२ ॥ }	अश्रुदन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्य १/१॥	अन्त्यहलोऽश्रुदि ॥ १/१/२५ ॥
(२) शुधो हा ॥ १/१७ ॥ } ककुभो हः ॥ १/२१ ॥ }	शुधो हा ॥ १/१४ ॥ } हः ककुभः ॥ १/१८ ॥ }	हः शुत्ककुभि ॥ १/१/३१ ॥
(३) लुग्यवरशपसां शपसां- दीर्घः ॥ १/४३ ॥	दीर्घश्च शपसां लुग्यव्यशप- साम् ॥ १/३८ ॥	द्योतुम्यवरशसोर्दिः ॥ १/२/८ ॥
(४) धनिविष्वचो रुः ॥ १/५२ ॥ } गवये वः ॥ १/५४ ॥ }	उर्ध्वनिविष्वचोः ॥ १/४७ ॥	उर्ध्वनिगवयविष्वचि वः ॥ १/२/१६ ॥
(५) द्विर्वोरुत् ॥ १/९४ ॥ } प्रवासीक्षौ ॥ १/९५ ॥ }	प्रवासीशुदिनाहुत् ॥ १/८० ॥	द्विनीक्षुप्रवासिषु ॥ १/२/४९ ॥

⁵ सुस् = सु औ जस् Nom. Sing.; Du., and Plu.-term.

अस् = अम् और् शस् Acc.

दि प = डि औस् सुप् Loc.

&c. &c. &c.

ह = A स्वरं or short vowel; दि = A दीर्घ or long vowel स = A समास or a compound
शु = श, ष, स्; सु = The first letter; स्तु = A conjunct consonant; फु = The second letter of a word;
तु = Optionally; ग = गण or a class; similarly लिन्, शिन्, रिन्, and डिन् letters have a special mean-
ing attached to them. तु and नप् signify respectively the Masc. and Neu. genders.

⁶ Vide a portion of the work published in the *Granthapradarsini* by S. P. V. Ranganāthaswāmī of Vizagapatam No. 43 of 1914.

(१) एत्पीडपीडविभीतक- कीदृशेदृशे ॥ १/१०९ ॥ and नीडपीडे वा ॥ १/१०६ ॥	{ विभीतकेदृशापीडपीडप- कीदृशेषु ॥ १/८८ ॥ and पीडनीडयोवी ॥ १/८९ ॥	{ एत्पीडनीडकीदृशपीडपविभीतके- दृशा पीडे ॥ १/२/५७
(७) हर्षुकटौ ॥ १/११० ॥ पुरुषे रोः ॥ १/१११ ॥	{ धुटिपुरुषयोरिः प्रथमद्वितीय- योः ॥ १/१३ ॥	{ रोर्षुकटौपुरुषयोरित् ॥ १/२/६० ॥
(८) वोपरौ ॥ १/१०८ ॥ गुरौ के वा ॥ १/१०९ ॥	{ उपरौ वा ॥ १/११ ॥ गुरुके च ॥ १/१२ ॥	{ त्वदुत उपरिगुरुके ॥ १/२/५८ ॥
(९) छागे लः ॥ १/१११ ॥ शृङ्गले खः कः ॥ १/१८९ ॥ and किराते चः ॥ १/१८३ ॥	{ किराते हनौ वा सीकरे ॥ १/१६१ ॥ शृङ्गलपुत्रागमाग्निनीषु खगोः कनौ ॥ १/१६४ ॥ and कत्वे वःसुभगदुर्भगयोर्ल- -छागे ॥ १/१६५ ॥	{ छागशृङ्गलकिराते लकचाः ॥ १/३/१३ ॥
(१०) एत इद्वा वेदनाचपेटावेवर- केसरे ॥ १/१४६ ॥ and सैन्ये वा ॥ १/१५० ॥	{ केसरदेवरचपेटावेदनास्वे- रिर्वा ॥ १/१२७ ॥ and अद्वय वा सैन्ये ॥ १/१३१ ॥	{ चपेटकेसरदेवरसैन्यवेदना- स्वेचस्त्वित् ॥ १/२/१४ ॥

On a comparison of the above *Sūtras* it will be clear that the author of the *Sūtras* attributed to Vālmiki is later in age than Hemachandra. That he is not Trivikrama has, I believe, been conclusively proved before. He is not therefore Vālmiki of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but another sage of the same name; and just as *Nalodaya* is attributed to the well-known Kālidāsa, but is the work of another Kālidāsa; so are the *Sūtras* in question ascribed to the first poet Vālmiki, though they are a composition of another sage of the same name.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 140.)

The great controversy thus ended in favour of De Nobilis; but he was not able to get rid of the loss of reputation he had suffered. The magic power he had was gone, and the jealousy of the other missionaries increased his difficulties. The consequence was that, though he resumed work in 1623, he was unable to stay in Madura any longer. But what Madura lost, other places gained; and the basin of the Kaveri became, in place of the basin of the Vaignai, the scene of his activity. For the details of his achievement in this region, however, the reader must go to the next chapter.

It may be here pointed out that the controversy which began with De Nobilis and his opponents continued right down to the extinction of the Jesuit Mission in Madura. The controversy may in fact be looked on as a conflict between two grand principles of proselytism. Was the Christianity to be introduced in India to be a purely apostolic one or was it to be shaped to a certain extent at least by Indian conditions and Indian environments. Was it to be Christianity pure and simple, as it was understood in the West, or was it to be a Hinduized one? Was it, in other words, to be independent, or an ally, of Hindu society?

The Jesuits were for concession and compromise; the others were not; and Popes had again and again to listen to their quarrels and decide. Decisions, however, were made only to give rise to discontent, and the struggle actually closed only with the extinction of the Jesuits. We have already seen how Gregory XV vindicated the principles of *De Nobilis* in 1623. Twenty-two years later, in September 1645, Pope Innocent X issued another Bull prohibiting some of the 'rites.' This underwent further modification under Alexander VIII in March 1656. Similar orders were passed by other Popes from time to time, but these did not satisfy the never-ending murmurs of the non-Jesuit missionaries of India and China. Their importunities impelled Pope Clement XI in 1700⁷² to send a legate to the East to inquire into and finally dispose of the questions in dispute. This man, the celebrated Charles Maillard de Tournon, a Savoyard of good family and the Patriarch of Antioch, landed at Pondichery in 1703, and during his nine months' stay there started a searching enquiry into the differences between the two parties. The men upon whom he chiefly relied for information were the Jesuits, Jean Venant Bouchet, superior of the Carnatic Mission, and Carlo Michael Bertelde, missionary in Madura. As a result of his investigations Tournon drew up, in June 1704, a decree which claimed to effect a final settlement of the matter. It dictated the omission of saliva, salt and insufflation at baptism, prohibited the using of names other than those of Roman martyrology, and ruled that the baptism of infants ought not to be unduly postponed. In regard to marriages it laid down that no marriages by the *tali* should be celebrated at six or seven years of age, and that celebrations ought not to be held during puberty. It further ruled that the *tali* should not be worn without a cross or image of Christ, that the cord suspending the *tali* must not be saffron-coloured or have 108 threads, and that superstitious ceremonies like the use of the pipal branch, the breaking of coconuts and the use of crowns to ward off demons, ought to be avoided. The decree even fixed the number and nature of the dishes of food to be served on such occasions. In regard to worship the Patriarch decided that none should be excluded from the church or confessional. Socially he laid down that the Pariahs should be treated on an equality with the other castes, that no differences should be observed in the administration of extreme unction, that Christian musicians should seek no employment in Hindu temples, that baths should be confined to the necessity of physical cleanliness and be different from the Hindu usage, and that the wearing of ashes except on Ash Wednesday must be avoided. Even Hindu books of tales were prohibited unless the missionaries considered them entirely harmless. The settlement⁷³ of Tournon was more a condemnation of the Jesuit system than an impartial adjudication; and it was therefore ignored by the Jesuit Mission of Madura, which carried on its activities in the same manner as of old, and in the face of the same opposition.

But the condemnation of the Hindu customs gave a death-blow to its progress. The invasions of the Mahrattas in 1740 and the suppression of the Jesuit Society itself in Europe between 1759 and 1773 resulted in a great fall of the Christian population.

⁷² Till this year all the Roman Catholic missions in S. India were subordinate to the Portuguese Provincial of Malabar. This year the French mission of the Carnatic was established independently, the Portuguese taking the country north of the latitude of Pondichery and the French the south.

⁷³ See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. IV.

CHAPTER VI.

The Second Mussalman Conquest.

Tirumal Nâik the builder (1623-1659).

INTRODUCTION.

We now come to the reign of the renowned Tirumal Nâik, a sovereign about whose position and character, there has been much misunderstanding among historians. It has been deliberately said that he was "the greatest of his dynasty," that the Nâik monarchy obtained the acme of its power in his days. The statement, first made by Nelson, has been reiterated by others, until at length it has come to be considered a truism. And yet no statement can be more wide of the truth. Nelson mistook the magnificence of Tirumal Nâik for greatness, his pomp for power, his artistic taste for political genius. The splendour of the works which the great Nâik left, the undying nature of his monuments of art, blinded Nelson as to the absolute worthlessness of Tirumal Nâik as a soldier, statesman or politician. A study of the chronicles of his reign will convince even the most indulgent critic that there is not one redeeming feature in him as a soldier or as a politician. An inordinate ambition and a headlong passion for empty titles made him engage in various wild goose chases, in hankering after unrealities, which resulted only in the loss of the substantial realities he had already possessed. A man lacking in the foresight of a statesman and the virtues of patriot, he was a traitor, who subjected not only his kingdom and his subjects, but the whole of South India, to the horrors of permanent Mussalman conquest and domination. Three hundred years had passed since the Mussalman had tried, but in vain, to plant his footsteps permanently in the land of the Chôlas and Pândyas; and it was reserved for Tirumal Nâik to invite him and give him that which he had failed to grasp three centuries back. It is indeed true that, owing to the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the reduction of its emperors to the obscurity of petty chiefs, the expansion of the Mussalman kingdoms of Golcondah and Bijapur into the extreme south of the Peninsula was a mere question of time, and would have come to pass even without the suicidal treason of Tirumal Nâik; yet it was he that hastened the catastrophe and heightened its seriousness. But for him and his machinations, the Mussalman irruption would have been neither so rapid nor so thorough. In his foreign policy Tirumal Nâik was thus the evil genius of his time and brought destruction on Hindu independence. His reign in consequence was one of grave disasters, and witnessed a serious loss in the power and prestige of Madura. Politically then, Tirumal Naik was a failure, and brought his kingdom to the nadir of efficiency; but his defects and crimes have been forgotten in the noble services he rendered to the arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. The political iconoclast has been forgotten in the generous builder, and posterity, while ignoring the miserable part he played in the domain of war and politics, has given him unstinted praise as the author of South Indian Artistic Renaissance. Many were the kings of this age who gave sufficient support and patronage to artists and were able to spread artistic taste and culture. Temples and palaces, *chattrams* and study-halls, summer retreats and pleasure bowers, were built on an extensive scale, and afforded employment to thousands of labourers and builders. But Tirumal Nâik was the most generous of these sovereigns

and availed himself of the tendencies of the times. The favours of mankind applaud with all the greater sincerity the liberality of a monarch who, in the midst of incessant engagements and disasters in the field of war, found time and resources to do so much for the arts of peace.

SECTION I.

The architectural works of Tirumal Naik.

The long and eventful reign of Tirumal Naik begins with a curious and interesting tradition concerning the transfer of his residence from Trichinopoly, hitherto the seat of Government, to Madura. The story goes that, when on the death of his brother, Muttu Virappa, he was on his way from Trichi to Madura to be crowned, the disease of catarrh to which he had long been a victim, and which both the Vaishnavite and Saivite gods⁷⁵ of Srirangam, Raṅganātha and Jambunātha, could not heal, reached such serious proportions that his life was in danger; and that while staying at Dindigul, Chokkanātha and Minākshi, the guardian deities of Madura, appeared before him in a vision in the guise of a Brahman couple, and promised him, after rubbing a little of the holy ashes on his body, immediate cure of the disease, in case he gave up the habit of his ancestors and made Madura his permanent residence. Tirumal in accordance with the advice of his ministers, to whom he communicated his vision, took a vow to that effect. And the next day, continues the story, when he was cleaning his teeth in the morning hours, the disease left him by the mouth, making him free from all ailments!

From this time Tirumal Naik's love for the city of his choice was a passion. He felt in fact a parental tenderness for it. The atmosphere of Madura was the only atmosphere in which he could live, the only air he could breathe. The sole object of his life seemed to be to beautify, to strengthen and to embellish the city in which he had fixed permanently the strength as well as the majesty of his throne. Every pon which could be spared from the revenue of the State, every moment which could be snatched from the toils of administration, was bestowed on it. And every corner of it became in consequence stamped with his own creation, his own buildings and his great taste. In his gratitude for the goddess who favoured him with health, wealth and influence, he vowed to spend five lakhs of *pons* on her ornaments and dresses, her vehicles and paraphernalia. He constructed a beautiful lion⁷⁶ throne for the goddess, a seat of black marble for Sundarēśvara, a third throne of gems and jewels, and an ivory car. He then began the construction of those temples, palaces and defences which have perpetuated the memory of his reign, and made his name a household word among the people of South India. He repaired the temple of Minākshi, built the *Pudu-*

⁷⁵ The *Mirtanjiya MSS.* According to the *Carna. Dynas. and Supple. MS.* Tirumal came to the throne in S. 1544 (Dunmati) and died in S. 1584 (Pilava). But the *Pand. Chron.* assigns to him only 34 years from 1623 (Māṣi Dundumi) to 1659 (Māṣi Vijambi). Nelson accepts the latter view. The date 1626—1662 given by Wheeler is, as is almost always the case with that writer, wrong.

⁷⁶ The *Mirtanjiya MSS.*

maṭṭapam, excavated the *teppakuḷam*, and appointed officers to conduct the daily services and festivals of the temple. He gave some of his own private estates to defray the expenses of the nuptial festival of the god and goddess. He further endowed lands of the annual revenue of 44,000 *pons*,⁷⁷—one hundredth of his revenue for meeting the daily expenses. Besides these, he set apart a hundred villages which he exempted from taxation, the income from which was to be utilised for the temple staff and establishment, the distribution of charities to the poor, etc. In addition to these gifts, he gave, whenever he visited the temple, a donation of 1,000 *pons* for the anointing ceremony. His scrupulous piety issued strict orders for the celebration of every festival with pomp and magnificence. Tireless was his energy in the completion of his holy labours. Every day the pious monarch condescended to visit in person the scene of architectural and artistic labours, and reward, with characteristic liberality, the skill of the men engaged therein. Tradition⁷⁸ records how, on one occasion, he went to the Pudumaṇṭapa in the course of its building, how in his admiration of the chief artist Sumantramūrti Āchārya he gave him a betel leaf on which he had himself spread the chunam, how the artist on account of his pre-occupation disrespectfully swallowed it, how he immediately punished himself by cutting two of his fingers and how the king gave him, besides costly robes, a hand made of gold.

In a consideration of the motives which inspired Tirumal Nāik's⁷⁹ magnificence we cannot ignore a less noble version which has been suggested. This attributes his solicitude for art not to gratitude or to taste, but to selfishness and love of splendour. In imitation of Kṛishṇa, it is said, he performed a marriage everyday so that he had, in a year, a crowd of 360 wives besides his four chief queens. The palace was near the temple, and the goddess was troubled by the noise of the daily festivities, the shouts of heralds, the din of drums and the sounds of music. She appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to remove his court to another place. Hence his building a new palace; to which piety added a *maṭṭapam*, a *teppakuḷam*, and a quadrangle of houses for Brahmans round it.

Tirumal Nāik would not have been true to himself if he had not begun his labours in the field of art and architecture without proper ceremony or celebration. One of the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* describes how the numerous works of Tirumal extending from the banks of the Kāveri to the shores of the southern sea, were begun simultaneously at an auspicious moment. In accordance with the sanction of the court astrologers, the foundations were laid on the 10th of *Vaiśākha* of *Akshaya*, S. 1548 (1626 A. D.), of as many as 96 temples. From that moment began a period of growing glory and busy activity to the artists and artisans of the land. Painters and sculptors, architects and masons came from distant lands to the Nāik capital, and found welcome and employment under its great king. Wars or disasters did not interfere with their labours; the difficulty of livelihood did not disturb their peace of mind. The munificent patronage of the king relieved them from anxiety, and stimulated them to activity, and the kingdom of Madura became a stronghold of beauty and art.

⁷⁷ *Pand. Chron.*; *Mirtanjiya MSS.* According to the latter the king vowed to give a hundredth part of his revenue for the maintenance of the temple, and as he gave lands worth 44,000 *pons*, it is evident, as Taylor says, that his income amounted to 44 *lakhs* of *pons*.

⁷⁸ See Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.* II, p. 151.

⁷⁹ Wheeler, IV, p. 578.

It was but natural that Madura attracted the lion's share of the king's attention and the major portion of his endowments. Want of space makes a detailed survey of the various works of Tirumala impossible. We shall mention the most important and interesting ones, and describe them for the intrinsic interest they possess. First of all should be mentioned the *teppakulam* of Minākshi⁸⁰ which, it is recorded, absorbed a lakh of *pons*. The story is that, when it was excavated, an image of Gaṇēśa, the destroyer of all obstacles, was discovered. No better thing could have happened, no more auspicious circumstance, in the opinion of mankind. The god was given a temple worthy of his greatness and his grace. It stands, in the western bank of the golden lily tank, in Minākshi's shrine. The tank itself is a noble square of 1,200 yards. Its sides are faced with granite, and surmounted by a granite parapet wall, broken here and there by flights of steps, and adorned here and there with life-like portraits of gods, their vehicles, etc. Inside the parapet is a paved gallery, running round the whole reservoir and affording a cool and pleasant ground for an evening walk. Just in the centre of the reservoir is a square island, walled on all sides, and having in its midst, a beautiful grove and fine edifice with a lofty dome rising from the centre of it. The whole presents to the spectator a remarkably fine and picturesque appearance. With its granite façade, its lofty dome, its tiny pretty towers rising from the corners and angles of its walls, it possesses a singular and elegant grace which no similar structure in South India can boast. A small contribution of two pence will enable the curious traveller to cross in a small raft intended for the purpose, to the island. He will then see in the midst of the palm and mango grove, which fills and cools the atmosphere, a small *maṇḍapa* with 36 plain pillars, the central part of which is in a higher level than the remaining portion, as it is there that the idol is seated during the floating festival. At the four corners of the raised platform are seen fine statues of Tirumal Nāik and his queens. It is over this platform that the dome above-mentioned rises. The traveller can ascend to its very top by the wooden and brick stair cases which lead to it through four narrowing floors. As he ascends, he will notice how in the construction of the edifice the Hindu and Saracenic arts are combined together, how the arches are in curious combination with tiny miniature *gopuras* and curious conventional figures and ornamentations worked, as in the palace, in fine stucco. The parapet walls around the summit of the dome consist chiefly of these tiny *gopuras* and figures, and beyond them, can be had a most engaging and charming view of the country around. Gardens and groves intercepted here and there by stray bungalows and winding roads meet the eye. To the north is seen, only a few yards off, on the other side of a few bungalows, the dry and sandy Vaigai, with its central meagre artificial watercourse, and miles off the summits of distant hills. Towards the south, the spectator can see the terraces of houses of neighbouring hamlets, with their fields and pasture grounds, fringed in the distance by the sacred rock of Tirupparankunṇam. To the west he turns and has a distant view, and hears the dim noise of busy Madura. He will see the rollicking *jatka* taking people from and to the noble city. He will see the pious pedestrians coming to take their plunge in the reddish coloured waters beneath him. He will see the four majestic towers of the Minākshi and Sundarēśvara shrines rising, in bold and clear outline, over the cocoanut groves that separate him for over a mile from them. He will also see the domes and towers of the

⁸⁰ See Fergusson's *History of Indian architecture*. Fergusson's *Picturesque illustrations of Ind. Architecture*; J. R. A. S., Vol. III.

palace of Tirumal Nāik, and will then perhaps feel that from that very place where he is standing, that great chieftain himself had stood and seen, and felt proud to see his own works of noble magnificence and superior taste. The traveller will, in short, find himself transported to that period of Indian History, when the Nāik ruled the land; but he sees, in a moment the dark and smoking chimney of a factory, and reminded of his time and life, he descends with the feeling and the conclusion that, indefatigable as the Nāik monarchs were in the excavation of tanks and reservoirs, none can be compared in beauty and in solidity to this noble work, and that the name of its author, like its own utility, will be enduring and eternal.

Of all the edifices of Tirumal Nāik Fergusson would attribute the greatest architectural importance to the choultry,⁸¹ "the celebrated choultry which he built for the reception of the presiding deity of the place, who consented to leave his dark cell in the temple and pay the king an annual visit of ten days' duration on condition of his building a hall worthy of his dignity, and where he could receive, in a suitable manner, the homage of the king and his subject." Even to-day, the grand festival which Tirumal Nāik organised during the journey of the deity to this *maṇḍapam* (it falls generally in May when the fierce heat of the sun creates the need for the god of a shady retreat), is celebrated with that splendour and enthusiasm which the great Nāik displayed two and a half centuries back. The season of the festival being summer the whole edifice is cooled by the soft breeze flowing over the picturesque water-course encompassing it. Fans and sandal, spices and flowers are distributed to the numerous visitors; and the sounds of music and the noise of festivities fill the air. A cooling agreeable smell pervades the atmosphere, and a universal season of enjoyment prevails for both man and god!

The hall itself is an oblong building, 333 feet long and 105 feet broad, and has a flat roof supported by four ranges of columns 144 in number. The labour expended on the carvings and sculptures on these pillars is characteristically Hindu. No two of them resemble each other in respect of design or details, and throughout the magnificent structure, a wild exuberance of fancy and a bewildering variety of designs transport the spectator into the realm of apparently superhuman labour. Among the sculptured figures are ten striking statues of Tirumal Nāik, his predecessors and their queens.⁸² To the student of history the hall is of high interest, as the date of its building is definitely known. It was constructed between 1623 and 1645, and this definiteness serves as a landmark in the chronology of South Indian architecture. Mr. Fergusson, for instance, asserts with certainty that the porch of Pārvati's shrine at Chidambaram,⁸³ with its different style of bracketing shaft, must be anterior to the hall by a couple of centuries, and that the corridors⁸⁴ of the Rāmēśvaram temple are contemporary. There can be no doubt that the political har-

⁸¹ See Fergusson's *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, I., p. 94, for a description of the objects of "the choultry" (*chaōry*) type of buildings.

⁸² See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 115 for a description of these.

⁸³ In the Madura Hall, the square pillars merge into flat piers while in the older ones the square shape is never lost sight of. Midway between the two come the 5-aisled choultries of Rāmēśvaram. See Fergusson, *H. Ar.* I, 98.

⁸⁴ The Rāmēśvaram corridors are blind and single-aisled unlike the Madura ones which lead to a sanctuary and which are three-aisled. This is in Fergusson's opinion an alteration for the worse. If Tirumal Nāik, he says, had been allowed any share in making the original designs the temple would have been a nobler building than it is.

mony which existed between the Nāik and the Sētipati conduced to co-operation in art, and the corridors of the Rāmēśvaram temple are imitations, though with certain alterations, of the *Pudu Maṇḍapam*. The cost of the Madura hall was about a million sterling and, according to the⁸⁵ estimation of the present day when money is cheap, would be equal to four or five millions sterling.

Immediately in front of the choultry the Nāik monarch built a *gopura*, which he was not able to finish, and his successors were too poor or unwilling to continue. There is a melancholy grandeur about this stupendous monument. In its gigantic size, and its bold design, it is far more imposing than the Śrīraṅgam tower itself. If completed, says Fergusson, it would be the finest edifice of its class in South India. It is 174 feet long from north to south, about 100 feet in height, with an entrance 22 feet wide, and doorposts rising to a height of 60 feet. The dimensions of the tower are therefore larger than those of the Śrīraṅgam edifice. But it is not the size alone that makes it an object of superior admiration. The beauty of details is far more engaging and attractive. The gateposts, each of which is a single block of granite, the lifting and planting of which would have involved a tremendous labour and required high mechanical skill, are carved with the most exquisite scroll of patterns of elaborate foliage. "Being unfinished and consequently never consecrated, it has escaped whitewash, and alone of all the buildings of Madura, its beauties can still be admired in their original perfection."

The next important religious edifice of Tirumal Nāik is the great temple of Minākshi. The heart of the temple, the holy sanctuary, was built by Visvanatha⁸⁶, but the outer buildings and ornamentations are the work of Tirumal Nāik. It is not unlikely that the beginning of the outer edifices was made in the reign of Muttu Virappa, Tirumal's brother and predecessor. A *maṇḍapam* in fact goes even now in his name and is said by tradition to be the oldest part. But the major portion of the works were carried out in the reign⁸⁷ of Tirumal Nāik between the years 1625 and 1659. The temple has not attracted as much attention from the artistic world as the choultry; but in Fergusson's opinion, it is a larger and more important building with all the characteristics of a first class Dravidian temple. It is nearly a regular rectangle, two of the sides measuring 720 and 729 feet, and the other two 834 and 852 feet. It possesses "four *gopuras* of the first class and five smaller ones; a very beautiful tank surrounded by archades, and a hall of 1,000 columns whose sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with. There is a small shrine dedicated to the goddess Minākshi, the tutelary deity of the place, which occupies the space of fifteen columns, so the real number is only 985; but it is not their number, but their marvellous elaboration, that make it the wonder of the place, and renders it, in some respects, more remarkable than the choultry about which so much has been said and written. I do not feel sure that this hall alone is not a greater work than the choultry; taken in conjunction with the other buildings of the temple, it certainly forms a far more imposing group."

(To be continued.)

⁸⁵ The MSS. say that it absorbed one lakh of *pons* (£20,000). Nelson takes this view, as labour was very cheap in those days. But it seems to me that Mr. Fergusson's opinion is the more correct one. See also *J.R.A.S.* III p. 231.

⁸⁶ *Ind. and E. Arch.* Bu Sewell points out that some parts were much older. See his *Antiquities*, I, p. 291.

⁸⁷ The Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapa and Tatta Śuddhi are later buildings. The former was built in 1707 and the latter in 1770 A. D. The *Yālī* façades, the statues of Virabhadra and the Goddess, of Subrahmanya and Sarasvati (playing on *Vīṇā*), and other features of the grand hall are admirable.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SOME HOBSON-JOBSONS IN EARLY
TRAVELLERS 1545-1645**Deling-Delingo-Dellingeges.**

1567.—There (in Macao [Macao in Pegu]) the merchants are carried in a Closet which they call Deling,¹ in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with Cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and Raine, and there he may sleepe if he have will thereunto: and his four Falchines carrie him running away, changing two at one time, and two at another. *Caesar Frederick in Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Macle hose, X. 130.

1579-1588.—And this **Delingo** is a cloth of thick double cotton, varied, to beautify it, with many colours, and as long and wide as a carpet, with a piece of iron through the head of it so that it [the cloth] can be attached to each side, which makes it into a sort of pocket or purse in the middle. These irons are fastened to a very stout pole which is carried by four men, and it has a covering like our umbrellas to provide a defence from the rain and the sun. When journeya are made, a cushion is put at the head; the traveller enters the **Delingo**, lies down and puts his head on the cushion. Then the four men, two at a time, take up the **Delingo** and carry the burden. *Gasparo, Balbi, Viaggio*, p. 99^b (translation).

1583-1591.—Macao. Coaches carried on mens shoulders. From Cirion [Siriam] we went to Macao, which is a pretie Town, where we left our Boats and in the morning taking **Dellingeges**, which are a kind of Coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a stang [pole] between three or foure men. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Macle hose, X. 186.

Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. **Deling**) says the word is not known to Burmese scholars and is perhaps Persian. This seems unlikely.

Mr. C. Otto Blagden derives **deling**, **delingo**, **dellingeges**, from *dalin* "to carry upon a pole between two persons," with variant *jan khalla*, a hammock-litter. Mr. Blagden also notes a less apt, but rather similar word *glein* (with variant, as he remembers it, *dalein*), "to carry a burden swung upon a pole across the shoulder."

Selwy.

1511.—The people of this country of Sian [Siam] . . . have a delight to carrie round bells within the skin of their privie members: which is forbidden to the King and the religious people. *Antonio Galvano in Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Macle hose, X. 28.

1583-1591.—In Pegu . . . the men wear bunches or little round bells in their privie members . . . There are some made of Lead, which they call **Selwy**, because they ring but little: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Macle hose X. 196.

Mr. C. Otto Blagden remarks of **selwy**:—"Probably not the name of the bells, but of the material of which they were made, viz., (*slay* or *silay*), or *thuy* (= *hiluy*). Haswell (Stevens' ed.) calls it 'copper,' but I rather think it was an alloy, such as is used in bell making commonly."

The word is probably identical with *sēl*, a small round coin made of bell-metal, in use in Manipur as small change; 400 *sēls* go to a rupee. See *ante*, XXVI, 290; XXVII 171 ff.

Serrion.

1583-1591.—When the King [of Pegu] rideth abroad, he rideth . . . sometimes upon a great frame like an Hors-liter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with gold, and set with many Rubies and Saphires. . . . and is carried upon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This Coach in their Language is called **Serrion**. . . . In few days after [taking his vows as a 'tallipoie'], he [the Tallipoie] is carried upon a thing like an Horslitter, which they call a **Serion**, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apparrell of a Tallipoie.² *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes* ed. Macle hose, X. 189-190, 193-194.

1583-1591.—And when he [the King of China] rideth abroad he is carried upon a great chaire or **serrion** gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latise to looke out at. *Ralph Fitch in Hakluyt's Voyages*, ed. 1810, II. 396.

Mr C. Otto Blagden derives **serrion** from *sarēn*, pronounced *sarēan* or *sarian*, a swinging cradle; homonym, and perhaps the origin, of Syriam, which is also written *Sarēn*, and properly Seriang, Siriang, etc.

¹ "Deling is a small litter carried with men" (marginal note).

² A Marginal note adds—This manner of carriage on mens shoulders is used in Peru and in Florida.

Ximi-Shemine-Semini.

1548-1549.—Though the King [of Pegu] escaped the hands of Xemindoo, he could not the Villany of Ximido Zatan (Ximi is equivalent to a Duke, and he really was one of Satan's creating) who murdered him. *Faria y Sousa, translated by Stevens, II.* 136.

1583.—The King and his **Semini**, which are his Courtiers. Wee came neere to the place where the King [of Pegu] sate with his **Semini**, prostrate on the earth (for no Christian, how neere soever to the King, nor Moorish Capitaines, except of his **Semini**, come in that place so neere the King) . . . The King of Pegu proclaimed warre against Avva, and called to him his . . . **Semini** . . . this [elephant of the King of Ava] I saw in the lodging where the King of Pegu was wont to keepe his, where continually were two **Semini**, that prayed to him to este. *Gasparo Balbi in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoze, X.* 158, 160, 162.

1583-1591.—Pegu . . . The King keepeth a very great State: when hee sitteth abroad, as he doth every day twice, all his Noblemen which they call **Shemines**, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoze, X.* 189.

c. 1645.—He (the King of Brama [Burma]) presently commanded the **Xemims** head to be cut off. *Mendez Pinto, translated by Cogan, p.* 213.

Ximis, s. m. pl., the grandees of Pegu. *Lacerda's Portuguese-English Dictionary, Lisbon* 1871.

Mr C. Otto Blagden derives **Shemine** (Shimi, Semini, Ximi) from *smt*, an abbreviation of *smis*, now pronounced *hamóin*, king, governor, administrative official, etc.

Rollm-Roolim-Rowli.

c. 1545.—After that these feasts [at Pegu] had continued seven whole days together . . . news came to the City of the death of the Aixquendo (Aixquiddo),² **Roolim** of Mounay (Ròlim de Mounai), who was as it were their Sovereign Bishop . . . **Roolims** (Ròlins) who are the chiefest of their Priests . . . Being arrived at the place where the **Roolim** (Ròlim) had been burnt . . . for so had Aixequendoo, the late **Roolim** (Ròlim) commanded . . . Him which had been newly chosen to the dignity of **Roolim** (Ròlim) . . . When he was come . . . where the new **Roolim** was, he prostrated himself before him . . . the King rising up, the **Roolim** made him sit down by him. *F. Mendez Pinto (Cogan's translation) pp.* 245 ff.

1583-1591.—**Rowli** or high priest. In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or Priests . . . When the Tallipoies or Priests take their Orders, first they goe to schoole untill they be twentie

yeeres of old or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie, appointed for that purpose, whom they call **Rowli**: hee is of the chiefest and most learned, and hee opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times whether they will . . . take upon them the habite of a Tallipoie. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoze, X.* 163.

1605.—Even some **Rollins** (as the priests of that country [Arakan] are called) became Christians. Quoted (from *Missions Dominicaines dans L' Extrême Orient*) by H. Hosten, S. J., in *Bandel and Chinsura Church Registers (Bengal: Past and Present, XI., pt. 2, 180)*.

1628.—The unfortunate King [of Pegu] . . . not being able to speak for Grief, the **Roolim** of Mounay Talaypoor, Chief Priest of those Gentiles, and esteemed a Saint, made an harangue in his behalf. *Faria y Sousa, translated by Stevens, III.* 350.

This word is still a puzzle. See ante, XXIX. 28; XXXV. 268. The derivation from *rahan* is not satisfactory.

Mr. C. Otto Blagden remarks on this:—" **Rowli** has not the general aspect of a Talaing word. In modern Talaing it is very rare for the first syllable to be long, either by length of vowel (or diphthong) or by position (before two consonants). If therefore **Rowli** is a Talaing word, it is much distorted. It may be a compound and must be an actual word since Mendez Pinto has 'rollin'."

Rowli, Rauli, Raulini, Rawlin. That the use of this word by Portuguese travellers was generally accepted, is shown by its inclusion in *Lacerda's Portuguese-English Dictionary, 1871*, where we find—" **Rolim**, s. m., (in Pegu, the most southern kingdom of the East Indies) the chief priest."

Chandeau-Chandeu.

1583-1591.—Here (Satgam [Satgaon]) in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great Market which they call **Chandeau**. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoze, X.* 183.

The word **Chandeau** has not been traced in the writings of any other 16th or 17th century traveller, but that it was an accepted term is proved by its inclusion in *Lacerda's Portuguese-English Dictionary, 1871*, where its definition seems to point to a Chinese origin—" **Chandeu**, s. m., a name given in China to the fairs or markets."

Chandeau, Chandeu: in Chinese, the term *chên tu* (pronounced *chun too*) means "city market," whence no doubt it was carried by the early travellers to Eastern India, and in Fitch's mind took the form *chandeau* (= *chundo*). I am indebted to Professor H. A. Giles for the hint in this note.

R. C. TEMPLE.

² The words in round brackets are as printed in the Portuguese version.

SOME NOTES ON YASKA'S NIRUKTA.

BY PROF. P. D. GUNE, M.A., Ph.D.; POONA.

IT is a remarkable fact that the *Nirukta* of Yāska, together with the *Nighantas*, should have first found print in Göttingen, in the year 1852. It was edited with critical notes by Rudolf Roth, whose name has been immortalized in the history of Indian Philology by his Sanskrit-German Dictionary in collaboration with Böhtlingk, a work of unequalled merit and astonishing labour. The first Indian edition of this book, together with the *Commentary* of Durga, appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series as late as in 1882, full thirty years after Roth's edition. It was edited by the learned Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī and possesses this advantage over Roth's edition, that for the first time, it offers the full text of Durga's *Commentary*. Both these editions, valuable as they are, have in my opinion one serious drawback from the point of view of the student of *Nirukta*. Their very fidelity is a fault; while faithfully copying certain Mss. which they appear to have used as a basis for their editions, Roth on the one hand gives very spare punctuations; e.g. P. 32. न निर्बद्धा उपसर्गा अध्यानि गृह्णन्ति शाक्ययनो नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोग द्योतका भवन्त्युच्चारणा पदार्था नवन्तीति गान्धर्वस्तदा एषु पदार्थाः प्रादुर्भिर् नं नामाख्यातयोस्तु विकरणम्। Here one expects some kind of punctuation after शाक्ययनः, another longer stop at भवन्ति which indeed completes the idea, as well as the sentence, and a third perhaps after गान्धर्वः; Pandit Sāmaśramī's original on the other hand knows no punctuations at all; e.g. same passage in his edition vol. II 37 14. This is sometimes very puzzling, as our M. A. students of Sanskrit know so well. Again the keeping up of the old arbitrary sections has something to be said against it. Whatever the original motive, they could have been either done away with or suitably changed in the printed editions. Faithfulness is indeed a merit, but it should not be overdone, at least not where reason says otherwise. Examples of this are numerous, but one might be quoted; e.g. R. p. 43. The 8th section is made to close with अध्यानि प्रथमादहवचने, whereas the words are logically connected with the verse in the following section अक्षप्वन्तः, etc., which contains the pronoun त्व in the nominative plural. See the same passage at S. II 67, 8. It would have been possible to make sections according to the most natural division, while still leaving some indication of the original arbitrary division of the Mss.

It is, however, possible to have two opinions on this question. I only wanted to suggest that a change in the original arbitrary, misleading and moreover very immaterial way of striking sections would not have been felt amiss.

A third edition of *Nirukta* has appeared in Bombay at the Vyankateshvar Press as recently as in the year 1912. Like Sāmaśramī's, this also contains the full text of Durga's *Commentary*. It is printed in clear type and has this advantage over Sāmaśramī's, that it has tried to indicate natural pauses intelligently and that it does not abound in misprints, as the latter does. Jivānand's Calcutta edition, 1891, is in all respects like Sāmaśramī's.

A good edition of Durga's *Commentary* is still a badly felt want. I have heard that the work is undertaken in the Bombay Sanskrit series, and also in the Anandāshram Sanskrit series. It would indeed be a happy day for scholars and students alike, when, these editions find the light of the day.

Roth's critical notes could not lay any claim to absolute correctness. But bearing in mind the time when, Sanskrit studies in Europe were indeed in their infancy, one cannot help thinking that the work reflects great credit on the author. Of course, it goes without

saying, that Durga's *Commentary* must have done yeoman service to the editor, as most of the commentaries on Vedic works do to a modern Sanskrit scholar. But Roth differs from Durga more often than once, sometimes with good reason, but often without it. To my mind however, both Durga and Roth have misunderstood Yāska at some places; at others Roth differs from the very reasonable explanation of Durga, apparently for no valid reason. In the following notes I have attempted to explain some of these passages. For brevity's sake I shall refer to Roth's edition with an R, page, line and Sāmaśrami's with an S etc.

I. R. 31, 7, and S II 8, 1. तद्यत्रोभे भावप्रधाने भवतः पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनात्र देवव्रजतिपचती-
त्युपक्रममृत्त्वपवर्गपर्यन्तं मूर्ते सत्त्वभूतं सत्त्वनामभिर्ब्रज्यापत्तिरिति, This follows the definitions of नाम and आख्यात, which are 'Nouns are where *being* predominates' and 'a Verb is where *becoming* predominates' respectively. Durga explains: 'where (as in a sentence) both (occur), (there) becoming predominates' etc. Roth appears to follow Durga, when he translates 'where both are joined (in a sentence), they conjointly express a becoming.' Both Durga and Roth look upon the sentence beginning from पूर्वापरीभूतम् as a fresh one, not at all connected with the previous one तद्यत्रोभे etc. They appear to think that the sentences beginning with पूर्वापरीभूतम् etc. and मूर्ते etc., are simply further explanations of the आख्यात and नाम respectively. I would suggest that both have missed the point. I was led to the conclusion by the examples which are given for पूर्वापरीभूतम् etc. and मूर्ते etc. They are व्रजतिपचतीनि and ब्रज्यापत्तिरिति respectively. If the sense was as Durga and Roth understood it, what was the propriety of giving ब्रज्यापत्तिरिति as examples of a सत्त्व and not simply गर्ग्यः etc. as done later on?

Durga and Roth appear to believe that Yāska was thinking of the sentence, when he wrote तद्यत्रोभे etc. and that his view was that in a sentence, where both नाम and आख्यात occur, the भाव predominated. To say the least, Yāska has never for once given any indication that he believed in the doctrine of क्रियाप्रधानत्व; there is not the slightest hint, excepting this supposed one. I think Durga has here fathered his views on Yāska and Roth has copied him. Again if the sentence (वाक्य) was here foremost in Yāska's mind, in which he thought of determining the relative importance of the नाम and आख्यात, he would not have omitted such an important word as वाक्य and indicated it by the simple correlative conjunction यत्र. Moreover to the etymologist with a vengeance, as Yāska surely is one, the word or पद is everything and the sentence or वाक्य is nothing. Lastly the very division of the sentence तद्यत्रोभे भावप्रधाने भवतः as तद्यत्रोभे भावप्रधानेभवतः as proposed by Durga and accepted by Roth, is highly unnatural and quite out of keeping with the lucid style of Yāska. His sentences are clear-cut sentences, each having its own verb or predicate. The first part of the division proposed by Durga wants a predicate. And never for once does Yāska omit the word that is most important; while the reading proposed by Durga is egregiously faulty from this point of view.

Another point that both the commentators appear to have missed, is that the two sentences पूर्वापरीभूतम् etc. and मूर्ते सत्त्वभूतम् etc. form the two sides of a period and suggest a contrast between the two things or in the nature of these, in answer to the point of similarity that is expressed in the previous sentence तद्यत्र etc. It is needless to say that the word भाव, which occurs in पूर्वापरीभूतम् etc. must be understood after मूर्ते सत्त्वभूतम् (भाव). There would not be any propriety in saying मूर्ते सत्त्वभूतम् (भाव) सत्त्वनामभिः if only a noun were to be further defined by this sentence, simply for the fact that a सत्त्व is not a भाव.

I think the whole passage is to be explained in the following manner:

Yāska has first defined a नाम as सत्त्वप्रधान and an आख्यात as भावप्रधान, both being *padas* (पदः). But there are some *padas* in the former category, where भाव seems to be prominent. These are namely the abstract nouns, like ब्रज्या, पक्तिः. Here is then clearly a case where the definition of the आख्यात is applicable to certain kinds of नाम. The question therefore is, 'where both i. e., नाम and आख्यात, are characterized by the predominance of भाव or becoming, how are you going to decide?' To this Yāska has a carefully considered answer. Says he 'where (however) भाव or becoming predominates in both, there (i. e. in such a case, the absence of the correlative तच्च could be understood and is therefore immaterial) the भाव in a state of flux or change (पूर्वापरीभूतम् or incomplete) is denoted by the आख्यात e. g., ब्रजति, पचति; while on the other hand a complete भाव (i. e. a भाव that is no longer in becoming or in change) which has materialized into a सत्त्व, is expressed by the names of सत्त्व, e. g. ब्रज्या, पक्तिः : going, cooking' In ब्रज्या, पक्तिः which expresses a भाव (e. g. भाववाचकं नाम) that भाव is no longer in the process of becoming but is now complete; and therefore ब्रज्या and पक्तिः are to be classed under nouns or नामानि.

This is an explanation at once simple and adequate. It alone explains why the words ब्रज्या, पक्तिः are specially selected. Besides it is more natural than the one offered by Durga.

II. R. 32. 20, S II 51, 1. यस्यागमादर्थपृथक्त्वमह विज्ञायते नस्वौद्वैशिकमिव विग्रहेण पृथक्त्वात् स कर्मापसंग्रहः. Roth's translation or rather explanation of this passage is as follows:—'The definition of the second class of particles apparently must be so understood; that *nipāta*, from the placing (setting) of which one can indeed see a separateness of the ideas, but not one (i. e. separateness) arising from a simple placing side by side as in individual mention (or enumeration), that is called 'arranging or adding' even owing to the separateness'.

Here again Roth does not appear to have understood the sentence properly. Here too he appears to have followed Durga and connects the abl. पृथक्त्वात् with कर्मापसंग्रहः. I would suggest that पृथक्त्वात् is parallel to आगमात् and is connected with औद्वैशिकमिव. I would translate—'Owing to whose advent (i. e. use) separateness of the अर्थs (senses or ideas) is indeed known, but not as in simple enumeration owing to separate position or independent mention, that is कर्मापसंग्रहः,—i. e. adding or putting together of the senses or ideas. Durga has understood औद्वैशिक rightly but he has spoiled the case by taking the word विग्रह to mean what it does in later grammar and connecting it with स कर्मापसंग्रहः.

The case is like this. When you simply enumerate objects like 'cow, horse, man,' you are aware of the separateness of these objects by the very fact, that they are bodily mentioned as being separate. But in cases like अयमहेदं करोतु अयमिदम्, the idea of the separateness of the two pieces of work and their being executed by different persons is brought out by the *nipāta* अह.

Durga has kept only च in mind, when he takes विग्रह in his particular way, giving as an example देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ. Here he says 'we understand the separateness by the supposition (अभ्युपगमनस्याभ्याहारान्) or understanding of a च.' But this does not apply to the other examples of कर्मापसंग्रह, like वा, स्वा, अह, उ etc. In fact Durga appears to take कर्मापसंग्रहार्थ and समुच्चयार्थ as synonyms; while they are not so, as will be seen from the following.

While speaking of the निपान or particles, Yāska says that they are used in various senses; and immediately adds a threefold classification viz., to express a simile, to express कर्मापसंग्रह and as expletives. Then he says how four of the particles are used to express comparison and gives examples. As the sense of उपमा was evident, he did not attempt any definition or description. Then follows the description of कर्मापसंग्रह R. 32, 20; S II 51, 1; up to

पर्याया इव स्वहान्त्विनं आश्विनं च पर्यायाश्चेति R. 34, 25; S. II 73, 9. After this comes the description of the particle in the expletive sense. अथ ये प्रवृत्तेऽर्थेऽमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपुराणा आगच्छन्ति पदपुराणान्ते मितक्षरेभ्यनर्थकाः R. 35, 1 and S. II 73, 10. The निपात therefore expresses 1 a simile, 2 कर्मोपसंग्रह and lastly no sense at all. According to this classification, च, वा, अह, ह, उ, हि, किल, खलु up to and including स्व are all examples of the second division, i. e., they are कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थीय. As we actually have it, however, they have each a different sense to express, viz., समुच्चय, विचारण, विनिमह, विचिकित्सा, परिग्रह and others. कर्मोपसंग्रह therefore must cover all these cases. Durga is not unconscious of the fact, when at S. 473, 12 ff, he says, व्याख्याताः कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थीयाः तत्प्रसंगेन नीहीत्येवमादयोऽन्यार्था अशुक्ताः प्रतिज्ञाप्रसिक्तानेवाधुना पदपुराणान्वक्ष्यामः 'We have explained the कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थीय. Together with them even हि etc. which have got different senses (i. e. not कर्मोपसंग्रह) have been mentioned. Now we shall speak of the expletives, in consonance with our original statement.' The original statement or प्रतिज्ञा is namely Yāska's statement "अपि उपमार्थेऽपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थेऽपि पदपुराणाः" S. II 44

To my mind therefore कर्मोपसंग्रह does not cover समुच्चयार्थ only, according to Durga, but all the other अर्थस, excepting उपमा and पदपूरण. It is a wider term than समुच्चय. 'By it is known a variety (or separateness) of senses, but not as in simple enumeration of objects, where the very fact that they are bodily mentioned separately, is a sufficient guarantee that they are distinct and separate.

III. R. 35, 20. S. II 83 13, तद्यत्र स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेन अन्वितौ स्यातां संविज्ञातानि तानि यथा गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीति.

Here Durga makes a division after तानि. He paraphrases 'where the accent and the grammatical form are regular and are accompanied by an explanatory धातु, there we agree (तेषु तावद्विप्रतिपत्तिः i. e. there we also say that such nouns are derived from roots.). Not however as in गौः श्वः पुरुषः हस्ती etc.' As examples of the nouns whose derivation from roots might be agreed to even by गार्ग्य, Durga adds कर्ता, कारक, पाचक etc. In short, he stops at तानि and seems to think that the examples of agreement are to be understood; while the examples actually quoted he looks upon as examples of disagreement between the नैरुक्तस and गार्ग्य. It is however strange that the sentence or idea of गार्ग्य, for which गौरश्वः etc. are supposed to be given as examples, has to be taken as understood. This would be the first example of its kind, where Yāska leaves out a whole idea to be understood and gives only its examples. Not even the most laconic सूत्र, where brevity is the soul of wit, omit words that are essential, not to speak of whole ideas. Durga is again led by his own hobby of threefold division of nouns. प्रत्यक्षक्रियाणि, प्रकल्प्यक्रियाणि, अविद्यमानक्रियाणि, (i. e. where the क्रिया or root is apparent, where it is to be thought out or supplied and where it does not exist at all), and imposes it upon Yāska, who has not yet told us of this.

Roth has perhaps seen the difficulty and divided the sentence after स्याताम्. He translates 'Gārgya and some other grammarians, however, do not allow this of all nouns (this आख्यातजस्व), but only of such nouns as are regularly formed in respect of accent and grammatical form, and at the same time contain an explanatory root; गौः श्वः पुरुषः हस्ती on the contrary, are arbitrarily (conventionally) named.'

I have to say at the outset that Roth's explanation appears to be satisfactory, although it is not clear how he has completed the first sentence. It is evidently a relative clause, from तद्यत्र to स्याताम्, and must have another principal one to correspond to it. The initial तन् may perhaps stand for the whole idea नामान्याख्यातजानि and यच्च to स्यातां serve as a restraining clause. But this would be attributing too much to the harmless little thing तन्, तन् simply corresponds to the English then or therefore. This will be clear from the first sentence of Yāska's reply to गार्ग्य, 'यथो हि नु वा एतन् तद्यच्च' etc. R. 36, 10.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 154.)

It is impossible to give a complete account of Tirumal Nâik's religious works in other places, nor is such an account necessary to understand his place in the history of Indian art, for all of them bear the same characteristics as the buildings we have already described. It may be noted, however, that, next to Madura, the city which engaged the largest attention from him was Srivilliputtâr, the great stronghold of Vaishnavism in the *Nadu-Manḍalam* or middle country, and the reputed birth-place of Periyâlvâr and the divine Gôda. There was apparently an object which Tirumal Nâik had in view in selecting this city for the second place in his affections. We have already seen how certain circumstances induced him to attach greater importance to the Saivite divinities of Madura; but too strongly tolerant to discard Vishṇu altogether he seems to have made up for his over-solicitude to Siva in Madura by doing something, if not equally great, at least something substantial, to implore the favour of Vishṇu. And he chose the god of Srivilliputtâr, for the reason that he had to stay there frequently for political reasons. Situated midway between Madura and Tinnevely and on the route from the coastal region to the *pāḷayams* and chiefdoms of the Western Ghats, it was a highly strategic and important place. Tirumal Nâik therefore seems to have stayed here, if not every year, at all events, very frequently. Frequent visits necessitated the construction of a palace, the remnants of which still remain, and of the beautifying of the city by means of temples, tanks, choultries, etc. Every foot of the city bears the impress of Tirumal Nâik's solicitude. In its small, but picturesque, suburb known as Maḍaviḷāgam, he constructed the fine and graceful tower which rises over the gateway of the Saiva temple as well as the broad, stone-pillared wooden-ceiled Maṇṭapa just after the main entrance. Here on two pillars are seen two singularly beautiful and lifelike statues of the great Nâik monarch and of his alleged brother-in-law, Vijaya Raṅga^{ss} Chokkappa. The grave and solemn air of the king contrasts in a striking manner with his corpulent size and epicurean appearance, and the artistic historian cannot but see a silent majesty in the whole scene. Both the king and his alleged brother-in-law are attended by two ladies. The skill displayed by the sculptor in carving the headdresses and the delicate ornaments, in depicting the general air of serious gravity and the expression of the feeling in the face, is remarkable, and make these statues among the best in South India. The fine eleven storied tower of the Periyâlvâr temple, closely resembling in its details, though on a much smaller scale, the grand and incomplete *gopura* gate of Madura, is also evidently the work of Tirumal Nâik. It is in the Āṇḍāl temple, however, that he lavished his money and labours. In the beauty of workmanship, the amount of labour employed, the size of the *maṇṭapams*, the number of sculptures, the excellence of paintings, and other respects, Āṇḍāl's shrine bears no comparison whatever with the Madura shrine. It is moreover dingy, and except in certain places, very plain. But the *yali* façades and the fresco paintings of the large frontal choultry, the numerous sculp-

^{ss} An inscription, dated A. D. 1627, records a grant by a chief of this name of some lands in the Kaṭṭar province to Iruṅkōl Pīḷḷai, the chief of Korkai, on account of his having settled a boundary dispute. See *Antiquities*, I, p. 7.

tures of the *Ardhamantapa*, which both in theme and in nature are just like those of Tinnevely and Krishnapuram, and the pillar works, of the hall leading to the bed-chamber of the deities; the spacious gallery around the central shrine, which is just after the model of the celebrated Subramanya shrine of the Tanjore pagoda; and above all, the golden tower in front of it, to which the god and Gôda resort every Friday, with its golden statues of Tirumal and his queens; all these seem to show this temple to have been a favourite of Tirumal Nâik. It is not improbable that the small and neglected Krishna temple in the south-western corner of the town was prosperous in the time of Tirumal. Now-a-days it has fallen into ruin. The tower is incomplete, its tank ruined, its sculptures mutilated and the street around it practically deserted. The numerous tanks of Srivilliputtûr were moreover repaired, and the beautiful *Tiruma-Kulam* in the north western corner of the city, a fine sheet of water which is on account of the soil yellowish in colour, with its *mantapa* on its north bank and its stone rivetings on all sides, will always be a monument of the great king's generosity and benevolence. In addition to these works Tirumal Nâik constructed a number of *mayapams* from Srivilliputtûr to Madura at intervals of a mile, so that he might, during his stay at Madura, go to his food only after receiving the information of the offerings to the Srivilliputtûr gods, through the drummers stationed in these bowers.

Another example of Nâik architecture belonging to the same period, is that of the Râmêsvaram shrine.⁵⁹ If Fergusson were asked to select one temple "which should exhibit all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection and at the same time exemplify all the characteristic defects of its designs," he would single out Râmêsvaram. On no temple perhaps, has such extraordinary labour been bestowed, but on none has it been so ineffective. The want of design strikes the casual observer and ignores the skill of its makers. Curiously enough, the temple was constructed, like the sanctuary of Tanjore, after a settled plan, but the plan of one is exactly the opposite of the other. In one there is a minimum of labour, with a maximum of beauty, while in the other the maximum of labour with the minimum of beauty. The result is that, in spite of its double size and its tenfold elaboration, the Râmêsvaram shrine fails in comparison with its rival.

The earliest part of the shrine, ascribed by Mr. Fergusson to the 11th or 12th century, is the small, elegant and well-proportioned *vimana*, standing to the right of the visitor entering from the west. Long exposure to the vicissitudes of seasons has corroded its details, and makes a definite pronouncement in regard to its date difficult. But it may be conceded with Mr. Fergusson that it is posterior to the era of rock-cut temples, and prior to the era of the Nâiks, and therefore a work probably of the 11th or 12th centuries. It is, after all, a small unpretentious portion of the temple, being but 50 feet in height and 30 or 40 feet in plan; but it is singularly important in the religious history of the island, for the four walls on the platform under its dome narrate a tale of woe and the vicissitudes of religion, the former grandeur and the present fall of Saivism.

The whole temple, of which the abovementioned *vimana* is a tiny part, is enclosed by a wall rising to a height of twenty feet, interrupted on each side by a *gopura*. All the four *gopuras* are singular in respect of the material of their construction. Unlike their peers of South India, they are completely built of stone, the hardness of which is a certain

⁵⁹ See Fergusson pp. 355-9 and *Journal of Geographical Society*, Bombay, Vol. VII., *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VII, p. 49; *Handbook Arch.* I, p. 98.; *Madras. Arch. Rep.*, 1910-11, p. 52-4; Burgess and Natesan Sastri's *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 56-7.

guarantee against the action of time. Being structures of hard stone, the towers are plain and unadorned by any of the sculptures or stucco figures and pilasters, which generally bedeck the pyramidal storeys of brick and *chunam*. Another remarkable feature about them is their incompleteness, except in the case of the western tower. The North and South towers, in fact, rise hardly higher than the walls on which they stand, and are, in consequence called ruined gateways. On the eastern side there are, unlike on the other sides, two towers, of which one is far larger than the other. If completed, says Fergusson, "this tower would have been one of the largest of this class, and being wholly in stone and consequently without its outline being broken by sculpture, it would have reproduced more nearly an Egyptian pylon than any other example of its class in India." As it is, the external appearance of the temple is, as Mr. Bruce Foote says, the least imposing. The best view of it is obtained from a craft in the open sea half a mile from land, but even the best view is not picturesque. The lowness and squatness of the towers lends no enchantment to even a distant view, while nearer, it is hardly better, in consequence of the small blocks of ugly and dirty coloured, "calcareous sandstone" with which they are built.⁸⁰

While the external appearance is so ineffective, the temple is a paradise of art in its interior. Its glory is in the corridors which surround the inner sanctuary. The total of their length amounts to 7,000 feet. Their breadth varies from twenty to thirty feet, and their height is about 30 feet. Their beauty lies in their great length and the wonderful perspective of the lines, which very nearly meet in a true vanishing point. The central corridor is 2,700 feet long, and has a series of pillars of an extraordinarily rich and elaborate design. On these pillars stand the life-like portraits of the Sêtapatis on one side, and the Daîavâis on the other. The transverse galleries and side corridors are narrower, and have fewer sculptures, in Fergusson's opinion, less vulgar and more pleasing. Throughout these structures the immensity of labour that has been displayed is something marvellous and apparently superhuman. There is, moreover, as Fergusson says, a certain mystery and picturesqueness which imparts a charm to the place; and though, as Bruce Foote maintains, much of the beauty has been marred by the poor nature of the stone employed, and though the quality of the work is, when compared with the Chalukyan temple of Halebid, inferior from the artistic standpoint, yet the unrivalled exuberance of fancy and enthusiasm of labour employed therein, together with the halo of mystery and solemnity which pervades it, leave it unsurpassed by any other temple in South India, and by very few elsewhere. Nature has been, in short, overcome by man, and "out of the way on unapproachable spot" has been converted by human faith and human labour into the classic ground of religion and the most extensive resort of pilgrims.

It is not in religious architecture alone that Tirumal Naik's name is distinguished. The people of South India, great builders as they have been from the dawn of history, have not left any civil, municipal, or other secular buildings, which can be traced to the pre-Mussalman period. Secular architecture must have of course existed, but it has perished. "What is however even more remarkable," says Fergusson, "is that kingdoms

⁸⁰ "I examined a great many of the great corridor pillars, and wherever the gaudy, trumpery, colour-wash with which they have been overlaid allowed of the recognition of their true nature, found them to consist of rather coarse shelly sandstone" (Bruce Foote, *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VII). The place from which these masses of stone were brought is not known. Mr. Foote believes it to be Villimukham Bay, 46 miles south-west of the Ramnad coast, where similar quarries are even now seen, and from which they must have been taken to the temple by the sea. *Christian College Magazine*, VII.

always at war with one another and contending for supremacy within a limited area have left no monuments of military architecture, not a single castle or fortification. What is still more singular in a people of Turanian blood is that they have no tombs. Owing to the practice of burning and other circumstances no Dravidian tomb or cenotaph is known to exist anywhere." This era of artistic barrenness vanishes with the advent of the Muhammadans. Then arose a mania, a universal fashion, for the construction of palaces, cutcheries, *chatrams*, elephant stables, etc. The Râyas of Vijayanagar were the first to effect this Renaissance. The kings of Madura and Tanjore were their disciples. The Nâik monarchs devoted as much attention to the construction of palaces and offices as of temples.

With the change in fashion there was also a change in style. The imitators of the Mussalman spirit, the Hindus imbibed the Mussalman method as well. They were not slavish imitators, however. While retaining the Saracenic model, they modified its architectural features so as to suit their own purpose and feeling. With scrupulous obstinacy, they excluded the style of the religious architecture from their new civil buildings and took with enthusiasm to the pointed arch and the vault systems of the Moors. Not caring very much for the taste, they used the arch everywhere and for every purpose, their minds solely bent on picturesqueness of effect, and they have succeeded. It should be acknowledged, with Fergusson, that the labour bestowed on these buildings is practically nothing when compared with that lavished on the religious edifices already described, but this does not mean that they are deadly prosaic. The fact is the charming combination of the Saracenic and Hindu styles makes, as all works of a transitional nature must do, the styles more attractive than the art, but the art is not inferior. The roof and pillar work are, unlike the roof and pillar work of saeped buildings, light and elegant, and display a fine taste, which has made some, more jealous than just, attribute them to the influence of European artists. What a sea of contrast is there between the civil and religious styles! The one is light, elegant, fairy-like; epicurean, earthly; while the other is grave, spiritual, solemn and dignified. Beauty and sensuousness are the characteristics of one, while grandeur and solemnity are the characteristics of the other. The one is the work of enjoyment, of power: the other, of veneration and man's devotion. The one revels in the charms of earthly life, the other endeavours to make men forget it.

Of these characteristic features we have a fine example in Tirumal Nâik's palaces at Madura, at Srivilliputtûr and Alagar-malai.²¹ In its original grandeur, the Madura palace consisted of a large number of detached buildings, but now, thanks to the vandalism of time and the larger vandalism of Chokkanâtha Nâik, a portion only remains. The ten lofty pillars which once formed part of the approaches to the extensive palace, are now detached from it and stand in a row in a narrow and dirty lane, in the midst of a dense mass of thickly populated Saurâshtra houses. They are built of granite slabs and plastered with mortar, which is now slowly decaying. The situation has exposed them to vicious but unintentional acts of vandalism on the part of these people. By driving nails into the joints for drying clothes, by streaking the lower portion in red and white bands, and by allowing the free passage of the drains at the bottom and the growth of free vegetation²² at the top

²¹ See *Madura Gaz.*, 282-4.

²² See *Mad. Arch. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 19; 1907-08; The vegetation on top of the pillars was removed in 1907 by the Madras archaeological department.

the people of the present day bear a silent but eloquent testimony to the horrible degeneration which the country has witnessed in the realm of art since the days of Tirumal Nâik. Nevertheless, these tall and majestic columns give, in spite of their incomplete and unadorned nature, a true idea of Tirumal Nâik's grand designs and grander resources. The actual remnant of the palace consists of a courtyard measuring 244 feet from east to west and 142 feet from north to south, and two beautiful halls connected with it by means of beautiful arcades. The courtyard was, it is evident, an arena for animal fights, gladiatorial contests, and other amusements. The arcades, twelve in number from east to west and seven from north to south, are supported by pillars of stone which are forty feet high, and joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance and design. The whole of the ornamentation is worked out in the exquisitely fine stucco, called *chunam* or shell-lime, which is a characteristic of the Madras Presidency. The fine octagonal domes in the angles of these arcades are of an exceedingly beautiful design. On the western side of the court stands the celebrated Svargavilâsam, the throne room of Tirumal Nâik. It is an arcaded octagon covered by a dome⁹³ 60 feet in diameter and 60 feet in height. On another side of the courtyard, that is, to the north of the Svargavilâsam, is a more spacious and splendid hall, the Durbar hall of the Nâik sovereign. "This one in its glory must have been as fine as any, barring the materials. The hall itself is said to be 120 feet long by 67 feet wide, and its height to the centre of the roof is 70 feet; but what is more important than its dimensions, it possesses all the structural propriety and character of a Gothic building. It is evident that if the Hindus had persevered a little longer in this direction, they might have accomplished something that would have surpassed the works of their masters in this form of art. In the meanwhile it is curious to observe that the same king who built the choultries, built also this hall. "The style of the one is as different from that of the other as classic Italian from mediæval Gothic; the one as much over-ornamented as the other is too plain for the purposes of a palace, but both among the best things of their class which have been built in the country where they are found." (Fergusson p. 382-3). The *yali* figures, and statues of sepoys in the corners, all worked in fine stucco, bear testimony to the fact that if the Hindus could imitate other races, they could nevertheless do so without losing their own individuality.

In this description of Tirumal⁹⁴ Nâik's works a place should perhaps be given to a curious building called the *Tamagam* (a summer-house), which, according to some, was constructed by Tirumal, and according to others, by Maṅgammâl. Built on a platform, fifteen feet high and faced with stone, it possesses in its arches and its manner of construction all the characteristics of the Nâik secular architecture. "Its roof is a masonry dome 21½ feet across, supported on the crowns of crenulated arches sprung on to square pillars, with similar arching arranged in the form of a square and supporting separate small truncated roofs. Its existing walls are clearly a later addition. The ceiling of the dome is of painted *chunam*, is exactly similar in design to several of those in Tirumala Nâyakkan's palace, and represents an inverted lotus blossom. . . . Rumour says that it was a kind of grand stand from which gladiatorial exhibitions and the like might be witnessed."

⁹³ In 1908 two boys somehow or other got over the lofty roof of the palace and cut and stole the lightning conductor. They were caught and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment (*Arch. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 28).

⁹⁴ *Madura Gazr.*, p. 262., etc. The building is now the collector's residence and has been much changed and added to. For its vicissitudes, see *Madura Gazr.* 262-4.

SECTION II.

The Mysore War.

Almost the first act of Tirumal Nāik after the assumption of the royal dignity was an indiscreet attempt to throw off the yoke of Vijayanagar supremacy. True, in desiring the separation of his province from Vellore, then the headquarters of the phantom Empire, Tirumal desired a verbal expression to what had already been a fact during the past thirty years. For, ever since a generation back, the weakness of Veṅkaṭapati Rāyalū had compelled the transfer of his capital from Pennakoṭa to Vellore, the bond that had united the province with the central authority had been loose, and the payment of tribute irregular and uncertain. With the decay of the imperial power, remissness in the remittance of tribute had become a common-place occurrence. But no provincial chief had so far dared to turn his province into a kingdom and his viceroyalty into a royalty. The real sovereigns of their territories, they had no interest in assuming the *title* of kings.

In fact, even after the cessation of annual tributes the various governors used to send presents, as well as assurances of loyalty, to their nominal suzerain. Tirumal Nāik was evidently the foremost man to desire to end this political hypocrisy and to proclaim himself an independent king. Inspired by this view he made grand preparations. He repaired the old forts of the realm, constructed new ones on the frontier and mustered 30,000 troops. At the same time he took steps to make disaffection a widespread movement and to persuade his brother chiefs of Tanjore and Gingi to imitate his example. These chieftains had hitherto refrained from open defiance to the Emperor, chiefly owing to want of precedent and lack of self-confidence. Both were now supplied by the Nāik of Madura, and the three rulers entered into a confederacy, with the object of withstanding by arms any attempt on the part of the Emperor to enforce his suzerainty.

Chāma Rāja Uḍayār.

Everything was thus ready for a formidable rebellion, when an event led to its collapse. Tirumal Nāik became involved at this time first in a war with Mysore, and then in the subjugation of a dangerous rising on the part of the Sēṭupati. These affairs engaged his arms for the long space of fifteen years. Mysore was then, as has been already mentioned, under the rule of the great Chāma Rāja Uḍayār (1617-1637). A youth of 15 at his accession, Chāma Rāj, famous⁹⁵ in literary history as the author of *Chāmarājōkti Vilās*, acquitted himself with the skill of a good soldier. His mind was always engaged in the revolving of schemes for the expansion of Mysore at the expense of his neighbours, and it seems that about 1625 (?) he despatched his general,⁹⁶ Harāśura Nandi Rāj, through the Gazelhatti Pass, to seize the important and strategic fort of Dindigul. He conquered the country below the Ghats, but failed to take Dindigul by storm. The general of Tirumal Nāik, the capable Rāmappaiya, took advantage of this change in the tide of war and, joined by the great Polygar Raṅganna Nāik of Dindigul, came up with Nandi Rāj, and inflicted on him such a disastrous defeat that he abandoned his conquests, and made a precipitate retreat into his country. The valour of Rāmappaiya and the dignity of Tirumal Nāik were not content with the expulsion of the enemy, but desirous of assailing him in his

⁹⁵ That he acknowledged Rāma IV is clear from epigraphical evidences. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1908, p. 23.

⁹⁶ See the *History of the Polygars* by Kannivādi, Raṅganna Nāik, the son of Nadukkuttalai Chinna Kadir Nāik, the contemporary of Tirumal Nāik, and proved an able and enlightened Polygar of excellent character. The MS. wrongly gives the name of the Mysore king as Dīva Rāja. The real king was Chāma Rāja Uḍayār VI.

own home. He therefore closely followed the Mysore general, ravaged the frontier districts, and laid siege to the capital itself.

Rāmappaiya's invasion of Mysore.

At this supreme moment the victorious general received, to his intense surprise, a sentence of recall from his sovereign. The Daḷavāi had many personal enemies in the court, and they alienated the mind of the king from him by spreading the report that he was a traitor and that he should be recalled. The king swallowed the bait and sent two messengers to the seat of war in order to bring the alleged traitor to his presence, authorising them to apply force, if necessary. When Rāma heard of his recall, he had to seek one of two alternatives,—either to obey the will of his sovereign and bring disgrace on the Madura arms, or to disobey, for Tirumal's own sake, his commands, and continue the campaign till it was brought to a successful close. Obedience meant the waste of past endeavours and a blow to future prestige, but disobedience might be construed into treason, punishable with imprisonment and even decapitation. Unable to reconcile his duty with his policy and his loyalty with the true interest of his sovereign's cause, Rāma long hesitated to adopt one of the two courses open to him but at length resolved to ignore Tirumal's mandate. Actuated by the hope that success would justify his action and prove his sincerity, he continued the siege of the Mysore capital.

His eventual Success.

Unfortunately Rāmappaiya did not stop here. Highly indignant at the obstinacy of the royal messenger and his application of force, he ordered his hands to be cut off. There can be no question that, in this act, the general committed an act of imprudence and a grave breach of morality, (as his sincere friend and adviser, Raṅgaṇṇa Nāik, who was a personal witness of the Daḷavāi's interview with the messengers, pointed out). By his cruelty Rāma gave a handle to his enemies and increased the jealousy of the king towards him. His position, in consequence, was very serious; but the nobility of his friend, Raṅgaṇṇa, came to his rescue at this moment. The latter had protested against Rāmappaiya's severity towards a royal servant, but he knew that there was some justification for it, that the general was, after all, guilty of imprudence and not of disloyalty; and that, if his conduct was questionable, his motive was good. He therefore espoused his cause when, shortly after the incident, he was summoned by Tirumal Nāik to explain the facts. He described the difficult situation in which Rāmappaiya found himself at the time when he received the king's orders, his long deliberation, and his eventual decision. He dwelt on the absolute unselfish, of the Daḷavāi, his staunch loyalty, his heroism in the field of war. He probably contrasted the merit of his services with the hollowness of his courtly assailants. These arguments, from a man of the rank, power and position of Raṅgaṇṇa Nāik, could not but convince Tirumal of his general's innocence. In the meantime, the latter had not been idle. He captured the Mysore capital, humiliated the Mysore Rāj, and set out for home, anxious for the nature of the king's reception. He might have, if he had been a man of ambition, kept his army as a resort in case of danger; but his loyalty was too noble to conceive the idea. Coming direct to the royal presence, he laid at the feet of his sovereign, a golden head, and a pair of golden arms to signify his willingness to lose both head and hands as a punishment for his cruelty towards the royal messenger; but at the same time he pleaded that a worthy motive was an adequate palliative of the guilt. The Nāik king realised the depth of his own folly and the nobility of his general; and far from

accusing him, came to regard him as the saviour of Madura's honour, and so showered honours on him. As Nelson says, Tirumal's later conduct was truly tactful and generous, and proved that he was not ignorant of the art of winning men.

SECTION III.

The War with Travancore.

When the war with Mysore came to an end Tirumal Nāik was engaged in a war with Travancore. The relations between Madura and Travancore had been, on the whole, of a friendly nature, from the time when Viivanātha established his dynasty in 1560. At the time when this happened Travancore was⁹⁷ distracted by unceasing war between the senior Tiruvaḍis of Siraivoy and Jayasimhanāḍ for supremacy. In 1559 the head of the Jayasimhanāḍ was Uṇṇi Kēraḷa Varma⁹⁸, and the head of Siraivoy, Sri Vira Āditya Varma.⁹⁹ The former ruled till 1561 and the latter till 1565. In 1567 both these positions came to be combined in king Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma. For a space of twenty years this Rāja held evidently an undisputed sway. He was not without co-regents; for we hear of a queen¹⁰⁰ of the Kūpakas in 1576, a Ravi Varma in 1578 and a Bhūtala Vira Rāma Varma in 1586; but all these were apparently loyal and obedient to him. From 1595 to 1607 the reigning king was Sri Vira Ravi Varma.¹ After him ruled Sri Vira Uṇṇi Kēraḷa Varma (1612-23) of Siraivoy (who had a coregent in Sri Vira Ravi Varma 1620-3) and Sri Vira Ravi Varma of Tiruppāpur (1628-47) who had a coregent in Uṇṇi Kēraḷa Varma (1632-50). The last of these was the sovereign who granted Vizhinjam to the English East India Company, the earliest English settlement in Travancore.

The relations between these kings and the Madura Nāiks seem to have been, as I have already mentioned, on the whole cordial. There were indeed occasions when the Nanji kings tried to wrest the extreme south from Madura, but their attempts invariably ended in failure, and they had to acknowledge not only the Vaḍuga's right to the possession of the disputed area but to the payment of tribute. In 1606, for example, Muttu Virappa² gave some lands to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. Apparently the Nanji king, either Vira Ravi Varma or Uṇṇi Kēraḷa, refused to pay the wonted tribute to Tirumal Nāik, thereby provoking his anger in 1634.

However it might have been, the campaign of Tirumal Nāik was a success. An edict³ of the Travancore king to the Nanji ryots in 1635 tells us that Tirumal's victorious army occupied the region between Mangalam (3 miles from the Cape) and Maṣakuḍi, that the agriculturists were put to immense trouble by the invaders and were helpless, that cultivation was not carried on, and that a part of the tax was therefore remitted by government.

⁹⁷ See Nagam Aiyar's *Trav. Manual*, p. 299.

⁹⁸ He was the senior Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāpur.

⁹⁹ He completed the construction of the eastern *gōpura* of the Padmanābhavāmi temple. For another gift of his see *Trav. Manual*, p. 300.

¹⁰⁰ She constructed the temple of Kariamāṇikka at Idaraikudi (Agastycēvaram Taluk). She was not improbably the queen who, according to Portuguese records fought with the Portuguese and was compelled to make peace with them. Mr. Mackenzie says that in 1571 and 1574 the senior Rāṇi of Travancore at Attingal started an agitation against Christians and burnt three churches. Was she the same as the queen of the Kūpakas? See *Ibid*, 300-1.

¹ The Tiruvāṭṭār inscn. refers to him. See *Ibid*, 301. He had a coregent named Sri Vira Rāma Varma. An inscn. at Śūchindram dated in 1609 refers to his death.

² See *Trav. Manu.*, p. 302.

³ *Ibid*, 302-3. The whole edict has been reproduced there.

The compiler of the *Travancore Manual*⁴ further points out from the inscriptions of certain villages in the Agastyēśvaram Taluk that "the forces of Tirumal Nāik visited the country several times conquering and plundering wherever they went and that the country was in a state of anarchy and confusion for about half a century. It should be remembered that the limits of Nanjanād which now comprise the Tovala and Agastisvaram Taluks, were not the then limits of that tract. The records show that a large strip of land between Mangalam near Ponmana and Manakuḍi, formed part of Nanjanād, while a part of Agastisvaram Taluk from the Cape to Kottaram belonged to and was governed by the officers of Tirumala Nayak and his descendants. There existed in those days a partition wall, the remnants of which are still to be seen from Manakuḍi to Pottaiyadi, and the triangular piece of land on the other side of the line including Variyur, Karungulam, Alagappapuram, Anjugramam, Cape Comarin, Mahadanapuram, and Agastisvaram, went by the name of *Purattayanad* or *Murattanad*. There was thus great facility for the Naik's forces to march into Nanjanad and commit depredations."

SECTION IV.

The Setupati Rebellion.

Scarcely was the war with Travancore over when Tirumal Nāik was engaged in the quelling of a serious domestic revolt, his behaviour in which proves his tendency to be impelled more by prejudice than by principle, by evil counsel than by policy. The utmost differences of opinion exist in connection with the causes of the revolt. According to the *Carna. Govrs.* and Rāmappaiyan-Ammānai, a beautiful historical ballad,⁵ the question was one of pure and simple disaffection and rebellion. Saḍayakka Dēva or Daḷavāi Sētupati, they say, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Nāik. He withheld the tribute, and when the Karta remonstrated, he beat and ill-treated the royal agents who brought the '*Takid*' of protest. The other versions, while differing in details, agree as a whole in representing the affair as an affair of disputed succession. According to Wilson the dispute was between the sons of the celebrated Kūttan Sētupati who, after a rule of 13 years during which he shewed himself endowed with the temper of a chief and the valour of a soldier, died in 1635, leaving three sons two legitimate and one illegitimate. The eldest of the legitimate sons (whose name Wilson does not give) assumed the title of Sētupati. But no sooner did he begin to administer his estate than a formidable rival arose in his younger brother Ādi Nārāyaṇa Tēva who, with greater ambition than justice, desired to expel his brother and usurp the crown. Fortunately for him he had a very able soldier in his son-in-law Vaṇṇiya, and with his help, gained the object of his ambition.

Tirumal's policy.

The elder brother was deposed, and Ādi Nārāyaṇa was seated on the gadi. But he was not destined to enjoy his illgotten position long. His illegitimate brother, Tambi Sētupati, embraced the resolution of imitating his example, and created a faction in the State. The aspirant, in his inordinate desire to obtain the support of Tirumal

⁴ *Ibid*, 316. It is very probable, however, that the Madura chronicles use the term Nanjinād rather vaguely for Travancore and not in the strict geographical sense pointed out by Mr. Nagam Aiya.

⁵ This MS. is one of the MSS. copied by Taylor. It is in his Vol IV. pp. 303-376. A summary of it is given by him in his *Rais. Catal.*, Vol. III, p. 347 and *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 179. Both the notices are very meagre and unsatisfactory.

Nâik's ministers, hurried to Madura, gave *his* version of the situation in Râmnâd, and by a skilful exertion of the arts of persuasion, convinced them of his claim to the estate; and Tirumal Nâik, without bestowing attention on the justice of his measure or even summoning the other claimant to explain things, condemned the latter unheard, and invested the intriguing Tambi with the *musnud*. When the new ruler returned to Râmnâd, however, he found in his rival a soldier who was ready to fight for his cause to the bitter end. Tirumal Nâik had therefore to send a large force under his General Râmappaiya and enforce his sovereign will. The version^c given by Mr. Nelson and J. W. L., purporting to be derived from the family histories collected by them, bears some resemblance to Wilson's, but varies in minor details. They say that Kûttan had not five sons but only two, one legitimate, named Saḍayakka, and the other illegitimate, 'Tambi' by name. On his death, Kûttan bequeathed his estate to Saḍayakka or Daḷavâi Sêṭupati, as he was also known to his contemporaries. Saḍayakka maintained an efficient rule for two years (1635-7), when for some unknown reason, he desired to abdicate the throne in favour of his adopted son, Raghunâtha. It was at this stage that the soaring ambition of the illegitimate Tambi created a party in his favour, and even gained the support and the military championship of Tirumal Nâik.

Râmappaiyan's army of expedition against Ramnad.

The actual operations^d of the war which followed are given in an exceedingly picturesque, spirited and dramatic manner, in the long and beautiful ballad *Râmappaiyan-Ammânai*. Like the majority of historical ballads, it is not quite accurate either in its personalities or its dates. It has, as we shall see presently, some anachronisms. Nevertheless its fine and realistic, though one sided, description of the war, of the chiefs of the different sides, and the light it throws on the military customs and methods of war, make it, apart from its fine and spirited language, one of the most valuable historic documents of the period. The poem opens with an interview between Tirumal Nâik and his great General Râmappaiya. News had just been received that the Marava chief shewed signs of turbulence and disaffection, and the king was very anxious about it. Râmappaiya asks in earnest and boastful language to be honoured with the

^a *Madura Manual* p. 128 and *Cal. Review*.

^b For a very absurd and inaccurate version of the war, see *Storia do Mogor* III, 100-102. The 'Tevara' of the Maravas, he says, a giant who ate as much as 20 men and drank much wine, rebelled. The Madura king sent 80,000 men under General Chinna Tambi Mudaliar. Astute and valiant, this soldier met the 35,000 troops of the 'Tevara,' defeated him, massacred his people, and brought him as a prisoner to Madura. The king admired his stature and valour and kept him fettered in the audience-hall as an object of recreation. When the king once asked him what he would have done in case he himself had by some chance fallen a prisoner into his hands, the bold chief replied that he would have pounded him in a mortar, then mixed with clay, and made pellets for his boys to shoot birds with. The king instead of being angry, was struck with this reply, and offered to set him free on payment of 40,000 pagodas worth of precious stones. The king's General, however, insisted on the Têvar's death, and offered double the amount to the king; and threatened to become a *Yog's* if the king refused. The Têvar was thereupon horribly murdered, limb after limb being cut off. The king then conquered the Marava country and entered the capital. "The Marava women pledged their word to each other that they would deny their husbands all marital rights" till they took vengeance on the Madura king; and they succeeded in killing his General and his men in one night. They then raised to the throne a nephew of Têvara, who made a brave defence and established himself firmly. *Storia do Mogor* III, pp. 99-102.

command against him. Tirumal evinces hesitation. He recalls the experience of the past, points to the fact that those who went to war with the Marava never returned; that the Marava was a much more valiant man than the Vaḍuga, that he looked with contempt on the Madura army, and that with his arms and his guns, he would prove the victor. The Daḷavāi replies that there is no room for anxiety; that the arms which conquered Tanjore, Mysore, Bengal (!) Koṅgu, and Malayālam could not fail against the Marava! The King gives his reluctant consent, and the brave General, after paying worship to Minākshi for victory and getting permission from his fond and anxious brother Vaidyanāthaiya by the assurance that he would return victorious in the space of eight days, sets out on his expedition. The Vaḍuga army is a formidable and gigantic array. There were almost all the Polygars,⁸ the chiefs and feudatories of the land. There was the brave and gallant Trumalai Koṇḍaiya, the Daḷavāi's son-in-law and faithful companion. There was the able Pāpia Nāik of Maḍūr and Liṅgama of Nattam. The Tottiyān chiefs, Gaydama and Eṭṭappa, Koppaiya and Irchaka, Pūchchi and Muttiayah, Kaṭṭa Bomma and Obala (of Ēlumalai), Bomma and Mallappa, Kāmākshi (of Illupār), and Paḷḷi-Chinnama, Kaṇḍama and Chinnōbala, Appaiya, and Tumbichchi, Bettana and Bōdi, and others, with their gallant men, were eager to measure their strength with the hated Marava. The Maravas too contributed an equal strength to Rāmappaian's force. There was the fierce Kuttāla Tēva of Naḍuvak kuruchchi, Chinnaṇja Tēva of Chokkampatti, Marudappa of Ūtumalai, the Āṇḍukōṇḍār Ēḷāyirappaṇai; and a host of others. Even the Sivile Māran⁹ of Teṅkāśi, the king of Nānji Nāḍu (i. e. Malayālam)¹⁰ and the king of Colombo¹¹, are said to have sent contributions to the Nāik's army. The Reḍḍis and Kavunḍans were not behind hand. From the side of Koṅgu¹² and Erode, they thronged, and thronged in large numbers. The Canarese and the Muhammadans also are mentioned.¹³

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

A LITTLE KNOWN CHAPTER OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY. By PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras. Printed at the S. P. C. K. Press 1916, 98. pp.

This little book by the learned Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras is a revised edition of a lecture read before the Madras Literary Society, with His Excellency Lord Pentland in the chair. Poor Lord Pentland, he must have been glad when the discourse was over. It dealt with obscure questions of chronology concerning forgotten kings of

Vijayanagar in the fifteenth century, and as a lecture must have been almost unintelligible. The essay in its revised printed form is not arranged as lucidly as it might be and in consequence is difficult to follow. I have now studied it in conjunction with Mr. Sewell's equally learned article entitled 'The Kings of Vijayanagara, A. D. 1486—1509' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 383—395) and think that I understand the points at issue.

All specialist students of the subject admit that it is difficult to reconcile the authorities concerning the succession of the kings of Vijayanagar during

⁸ The accounts of the Polygars given in the appendices bear out the statements of this heroic poem.

⁹ The Sivile Māran referred to here was evidently either Perumāl Sivala Māran *alias* Varaguparāma Pādya Kulaiḥkara Sōmāsiyār, an inscription of whom dated 1616 has been discovered, (see *Trans. Arch. Series*, I, 148), or some successor of his. There is no epigraph to enlighten us on the point. Is it possible that the term Sivile Māran is used without any significance? It is noteworthy that Tirumal Nāik who recorded a gift of lands to the temple of Āḷaiyār, south-west of Ambisamudram, in 1635 does not mention any Pāṇḍyan king. (See *Antiquities*, I, 309). Nor does he mention him in the Vairāvikulaṁ inscription of 1648 where, Tirumal makes a gift to a Śādra priest. (*Ibid.*, p. 319).

¹⁰ According to Shungoony Menon the kings of Travancore in the earlier half of the 17th century were Viravarma (1604-6); Ravivarma (1606-19); Unni Kēraḷavarma (1619-25); Ravivarma (1625-31); and Unni Kēraḷavarma (1631-61). The last of these should have taken part in this war if it is a fact. The version of the *Tras. Māru.* also favours this.

¹¹ The Portuguese were the masters of this place and it is difficult to see how a king of that place could have come to the help of the Nāik. See Tennant's *Ceylon*, II, 41—3.

¹² The Polygar memoirs of Koṅgu province amply prove this. E. g. the *Chetti Mutaliars*.

¹³ The MS. is very absurd at this point as it gives the names of Shah Abbas, Khanna (i. e. Yusuf Khan), Bade Khan (brother of Chanda Sahib) and other eminent men who belonged to totally different periods and different spheres of activity.

the disturbed period in question, A. D. 1486—1509, which seems to have included two usurpations.

There is general agreement that the First Dynasty came to an end at some date between July 29, A. D. 1485 and November 1, 1486, that is to say in A. D. 1485-6, when the 'first usurper', Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha I., the Śāluva, dethroned the last member of the First Dynasty—

person about whose identity there is some doubt—and himself seized the throne, thus establishing the Second Dynasty, consisting of two generations only.

It seems also to be certain that the reign of Nṛsiṃha the usurper came to an end at the close of A. D. 1492, prior to Jan. 27, 1493, after lasting more than seven years. His son Immaḍi, otherwise called Narasiṃha II., succeeded. He is also known by the title of Tammaya-Rāya, the 'Tamarao' of Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler.

The questions controverted by the specialists chiefly concern the manner in which the reign of Immaḍi (Narasiṃha II. or Tammaya-Rāya) came to an end, and the date of its close.

Mr. Sewell, following Nuniz, holds that king Immaḍi was killed by the contrivance of Narasa Nāyak (Narsenayque) the minister, who was thereupon 'raised to be king over all the land of Narsynga' (*scil.* Kingdom of Vijayanagar).¹ He further holds that Narasa died shortly after his usurpation and was succeeded by his son, Vira Narasiṃha. All these three events, according to Mr. Sewell, occurred between February 28 and either July 16 or August 14, A. D. 1505 (Inscriptions Nos. 67 and 70 in the author's list).

Mr. Krishnaswamy discredits the narrative of Nuniz, and thinks that the death of Immaḍi followed that of Narasa, who never usurped the throne himself, being content to exercise power *de facto*, without assuming the royal style. Our author agrees with Mr. Sewell that Narasa died in 1505; but is of opinion that the 'usurpation' of the throne was effected a little later by his son Vira Narasiṃha.

Thus, according to one authority, the 'Second Usurpation' was carried out by Narasa, while according to the other, it was postponed until the accession of Narasa's son, Vira Narasiṃha in 1506. The earliest inscription which gives the imperial titles, namely, those of the ruler of Vijayanagar, to Vira is No. 73 of our author's list, with a date equivalent to Dec. 1506.

The authority of Nuniz is not to be disregarded lightly. 'His chronicle was written about the year 1535, during the reign of Achyuta; he lived at the Hindu capital itself, and he gained his inform-

ation from Hindu sources not long subsequent to the events related.² Although he is known to have made certain mistakes³, a large part of the history of Vijayanagar rests on his narrative, which is usually deserving of credit.

Mr. Sewell's theory that the death of Narasa Nāyaka, the death of Immaḍi, and the usurpation of the royal title by Narasa shortly before his own death all occurred within the few months between February and either July or August, 1505, is an ingenious attempt to reconcile all the authorities, including Nuniz.

But it cannot be correct, if Immaḍi survived Narasa Nāyak. Our author asserts (p. 70) that he did so, and cites in proof two inscriptions of his list, No. 75, 76, to show that Immaḍi was still alive in 1507. On referring to the list, however, I find no mention of Immaḍi in those records which belong to the reign of Vira. If, as appears to be the case, inscriptions Nos. 75 and 76 do not prove that Immaḍi was alive in 1507, no reason remains for doubting the narrative of Nuniz, or for hesitation in accepting Mr. Sewell's version of the facts, which accordingly I accept.

The 'first usurpation', therefore, was effected in 1485-6 by Nṛsiṃha Śāluva (Narasiṃha I.), who was succeeded as king of Vijayanagar at the close of 1492 by his son Immaḍi (Narasiṃha II. or Tammaya-Rāya), who lived until 1505, when he was killed by the contrivance of his powerful minister Narasa-Nāyak, the Tuluva who usurped the throne himself, but survived for only a few months. That is the 'second usurpation.' The three events, namely (1) the death of Immaḍi, (2) the 'second usurpation' by Narasa Nāyak; and (3) the death of Narasa, all occurred in the short interval between February 28 and either July 16 or August 14, 1505. Narasa was succeeded by his son Vira. But revolts at that time occurred, and it seems probable that Vira was not well established on the throne for about a year after his father's decease. His reign should be dated from 1506 rather than from 1505. The author's essay contains other matter of interest, of which the discussion would occupy too much space.

The University of Madras deserves credit for having established a well paid chair of Indian History and Archaeology. The essay now reviewed, when considered with the author's earlier publications gives good reason for believing that the first occupant of the chair will continue to justify his appointment by valuable work based on the study of original documents.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

¹ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.

² *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 110.

³ Especially the one in his opening sentence, when he writes 1230 for 1330 (*ibid.*, p. 291). But that mistake concerns ancient history. He was not likely to be misinformed about the events of 1505.

SOME NOTES ON YASKA'S NIRUKTA.

BY PROF. P. D. GUNE, M.A., Ph.D.; POONA.

(Continued from p. 160.)

Before trying to determine the sense, we have to see what Yāska means by संविज्ञात Durga is not right when he paraphrases it by 'तेषु तावद्विप्रतिपत्तिः i. e., in their case there is no disagreement.' To settle the sense, we shall examine other passages where this word occurs, in this or in other forms. In R. 31, 13 and S. II 23, 15 it is used without the preposition वि. 'व्याप्तिमस्यास्तु शब्दस्यापीयस्त्वाय शब्देन संज्ञाकरणम् व्यवहारार्थं लोके' because the word is pervasive and subtle, it is used by people in common intercourse to denote objects.' संज्ञाकरण is therefore denotation, conventional denotation.

In R. 119, 20 we have the word with both the prepositions and this passage therefore is very useful in determining the true or Yaska's sense of संविज्ञात. 'तान्यस्यैके समानन्ति भूयांसि तु समाधानात् यत्तु संविज्ञानभूतं स्वाध्याधान्यस्तुति तत्समानं some enumerate even these (i. e. attributes like वृत्रहन्, among the names of gods); they are however too many for such enumeration. I shall however collect only that (attribute or name) which has become संविज्ञान (a name by which a god is known among the people) and by which a deity receives independent praise.' This passage shows that attributes can't be regarded as names of gods, until and unless people conventionally agree that a certain attribute shall be regarded as a distinctive name of a certain deity. A संविज्ञानभूत name therefore is a conventional name.

And this is the sense that is most suitable in the passage under discussion and not that proposed by Durga. Roth has probably seen this. We agree with him when he regards संविज्ञातानि तानि यथा गौरश्च etc. as the first point in गार्ग्य great indictment of the Nirukta school. Such names, says he, as गौः, अश्वः etc. are conventionally given and cannot be traced to any root.

There remains only one difficulty now. What is to be made of the relative sentence ending with स्याताम्? Unless there is some idea corresponding to it and forming the principal sentence, it sounds incomplete and therefore very irregular. For an explanation we shall turn to Yāska's rejoinder to Gārgya.

The reply of Yāska is contained in the passage R. 36, 10 to 22, S. II 94, 7ff. i. e. from यथो एतत् तद्यच्च स्वरसंस्कारौ... to लम्बचूडक इति. If we examine the passage closely, we find that Yāska proceeds to controvert Gārgya, statement by statement. While doing so he repeats Gārgya's statement, placing it between यथो एतत् and इति. For example यथो एतत् निष्पन्नेऽभिध्याहरेऽभिविचारयन्तीति. भवति हि निष्पन्नेऽभिध्याहरे योगपरीष्टिः. Here निष्पन्ने... विचारयन्ति is Gārgya's statement and from भवति onwards in Yāska's reply. Here then we find Gārgya's statements (without examples) quoted word by word. Now what is the first statement that is replied to by Yāska? It is in the very first sentence bracketed by यथो एतत् and इति. It runs thus:—यथो (हि तु वा) एतत् तद्यच्च स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ स्यातां सर्वे तत्प्रादेशिकमित्येवं सत्यनुपालम्भ एव भवति 'where the accent and formation are regular and are accompanied by an explanatory root, all that is प्रादेशिक (i. e. to be derived from the root). If this is what गार्ग्य means, it is no taunt (or objection, because we say the same thing). This clearly shows that the principal sentence corresponding to the relative sentence ending in स्याताम् is सर्वे तत्प्रादेशिकम्. And that is also what we expect. Strangely enough, it is omitted in the original statement of गार्ग्य quoted above. To whatever cause we attribute the omission, we have no doubt that the initial statement at R. 35, 20 is incomplete without सर्वे तत् प्रादेशिकम्. And we are also sure, comparing the initial passage with its counterpart in Yāska's reply at R. 36, 10, that सर्वे तत् प्रादेशिकम् must have been

there. Its omission is strange and unaccountable. Perhaps it is the scribe's mistake, who, seeing that all other statements of Gārgya are supported by examples, wanted to connect the examples गौः अश्वः with the first statement. The original sense of संविज्ञातानि तानि being obscure to him, he appears to have understood it as Durga understood it later and striking off सर्वं तत्प्रदेशिकम्, connected it (i. e. संविज्ञातानि etc.) with the sentence ending in स्वाताम्.

Max Müller has a different construction. He makes the first sentence end with हस्तीति, taking these to be examples of the case where Gārgya and the Nirukta's agree. संविज्ञातानि तानि- 'would be in themselves intelligible'. To Gārgya however गौः अश्वः etc. are not examples of regular formation, as his objections show. See Max Müller *Anc Sansk. Lit.* 165.

IV R. 39, 11ff. S. II 137, 18ff नैषण्डुकमिदं देवतानामप्राधान्येनैवमिति । तद्यदन्यदेवते सन्ने निपतति नैषण्डुकं तत्.....तद्यानि नामानि प्राधान्यस्तुतीनां देवतानां तदैवतनिष्ठाचक्षते । Here the difficulty is caused by the one compound देवतानामप्राधान्येन. Durga S. 532 has अथ पुनर्यत्र 'नैषण्डुकं' देवतानाम् अप्राधान्येन etc. as explanation. 'This is called नैषण्डुक owing to the subordinate nature of gods'. In the first place this way of interpreting the phrase makes the following line तद्यदन्यदेवते etc. (that, which falls in a verse dedicated to another god is नैषण्डुक) quite redundant as the same meaning is apparently briefly expressed by the phrase in question. Secondly, this way of taking the passage does not do full justice to the two इदम्. On the very face of it, the passage offers two words or names that are so to say pitted against each other by the parallel expression इदम् इदम्. Thirdly this sort of explanation ignores the force and the propriety of the parallel phrases introduced by तद्यदन्यदेवते etc. and तद्यानि नामानि. They are explanations of the two classes of words that are mentioned in the head line and that the author is anxious to define and distinguish clearly.

Roth has not got any note on the passage. There is however an indication in his Einleitung P. XIII, that he took the passage to mean 'this is नैषण्डुक owing to the prominence of the names of gods'. He has given a general idea of the whole passage beginning from साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः. The translation of the closing portion, which only is pertinent here, runs thus:—'The following generations, then, composed this book also in which are enumerated, the roots for one activity, the nouns for one idea, also words that have several meanings and lastly the names of gods.' The last line suggests that he understands the passage as just indicated. If so the इदम्-इदम् and the parallel expressions which appear to be purposely put to distinguish between two kinds of names viz., तद्यदन्यदेवते and तद्यानि नामानि etc., are not well explained. The following is I think the proper way of explaining the passage.

We have first to separate the words देवतानाम् and प्राधान्येन. The passage then reads नैषण्डुकमिदं देवतानाम्, प्राधान्येनैवमिति 'This name of a god is नैषण्डुक, this one (however) is primary.' Having first of all postulated two kinds of names for gods, he proceeds to explain them in turn. नैषण्डुक names are those that occur in a verse for another god; while those that contain the praise of certain gods primarily (i. e. without being subordinately mentioned with others) are देवत names. The word नैषण्डुक then gets an extensive application. It means then, not only subordinate names of gods but in a general way, such other names as occur in verses in praise of a particular god. An example of a नैषण्डुक name is अश्वं न त्वा बालवन्तम् where अश्व is नैषण्डुक because it occurs in a verse for another god. See R. 49, 11 'बह्वलमासां नैषण्डुक वृत्तम् आश्वर्यमिव प्राधान्येन i. e. these (rivers) are very often secondarily mentioned but rarely primarily,' नैषण्डुक वृत्तं is a synonym of निपात e. g. R. 47, 22 तस्यैव निपातो भवति वैश्वानरीयायाश्चि.

This explains the two correlative इदम् satisfactorily, avoids the repetition that is inevitable in Durga's manner of understanding the passage and moreover supplies a basis for the two following passages तद्यद्व्यद्वैते etc. and तद्यानिनामानि etc. where the two classes of words are clearly distinguished.

V. In this connection I have to draw attention to the names of the three natural divisions into which the subject matter of the book falls. If we refer to Sāmaśrami's edition, we shall at once find, that besides the division of Yāska's निरुक्त into twelve chapters, there is another broader division into three Kāndas or books as we might call them. They are called नैषण्डुक, नैग, दैवत. There is agreement between Durga whom Sāmaśrami follows and Roth, as regards the chapters that bear the name दवतम्; chapters seven to twelve constitute the दैवतम्. Here there was no possibility of difference of opinion, as Yāska himself says at the beginning of the seventh chapter, 'अथातो दैवतम्, now the Daivata' and repeats the definition of the दैवतम् that he has laid down at the end of the first chapter; R. 39,21. He had said there that he would explain it i. e. the Daivata below (उपरिष्टात्). It is clear therefore that the last six chapters constitute the दैवतकाण्ड.

Now which is the नैगम and which the नैषण्डुक काण्ड? Here Roth differs from Durga in calling the first six chapters of the Nirukta the नैगमकाण्ड. According to Durga, it is only the 4th, the 5th and the 6th chapters of the निरुक्त that go to form the नैगमकाण्ड. Then the original lists of words in five chapters, which is the समाप्ताय or निषण्डवः according to Yāska, is named by Roth as the नैषण्डुककाण्ड; while it is only the first three chapters of the Nirukta itself that are called नैषण्डुककाण्ड by Durga and Sāmaśrami.

Now which of the views is correct? And is there any indication of this division in the निरुक्त itself.

For an answer to this question we turn once more to chapter 7. There it is said अथातो दैवतम् । तद्यानिनामानि प्राधान्यस्तुतीनां देवतानां तदैवतमित्याचक्षते 'now the Daivata (section); those words or names which denote the gods that are principally (independently) praised are said to form Daivata'. This reminds us of the passage at the end of the 1st chapter of the Nirukta, where the same words occur without any change at all. The closing words of the passage run thus:—'तद् (i. e. दैवतम्) उपरिष्टात् व्याख्यास्यामः । नैषण्डुकानि नैगमानि इहेह I shall explain the Daivata below; the नैषण्डुक नैगम (पद) here' i. e. immediately. This is then the threefold division. The नैषण्डुक section therefore is to follow. It is a part of the Nirukta itself. Roth therefore is wrong when he calls the whole lists i. e. the निषण्डवः as नैषण्डुककाण्ड. The नैषण्डुक and नैगम then, are sections of the Nirukta and they precede the 7th chapter of the Nirukta and follow the 1st chapter. Which is now the dividing line? Where does the नैषण्डुक end and the नैगम begin? For an answer we have to turn to the 4th chapter.

The 4th chapter of the Nirukta begins with the words 'एकार्थमनेकशब्दमित्येतन्नृक्तम्' । अथ यान्यनेकार्थान्येकशब्दानि तान्यतोऽनृक्तमित्यातोऽनवगतसंस्कारांश्च निगमान् । तदैकपदिकमित्याचक्षते we have thus far treated that (i. e. the section) where several words have the same meaning i. e. synonyms). Now we shall begin with (that where) one word has several meanings and with Vedic words (that is the meaning of the word निगम here) whose formation (संस्कार) is not known. This they call the ऐकपदिकः'.

The following things are made clear in this passage: (1) that one section or book has ended and another one begins (which, we know, ends with the sixth chapter); (2) that it is called ऐकपदिक, presumably because it speaks of single पद that have the same sense and other single पद whose Samskara is not known.

Now we have to turn to the end of the first chapter. There, after mentioning the circumstances which very probably must have led to the compilation of the lists of words, Yāska also puts forward a general scheme of division of the work into three great parts.

1. 'एतावन्तः समानकर्माणो धातवः । एतावन्त्यस्य सत्त्वस्य नामधेयानि. So many are the roots having the same meaning ; so many are the names of this object. It is easy to see that this means synonyms: several words whether roots or nouns, having identical sense.

2. एतावतामर्थानामिदमभिधानम् So many senses are conveyed by this name (this approaches homonyms) ; one and the same word having different senses.

When we compare this with the above, we easily see that this is the same twofold division, as has been mentioned in the sentence of the fourth chapter quoted above. Yāska has not left us in doubt as to the names of these two sections :—they are नैषण्डुक and नैगम respectively. The third, as we know, is दैवत.

The second and the third chapter of the निरुक्त constitute therefore the नैषण्डुककाण्ड, the following three the नैगमकाण्ड and the last six the दैवत. We know that there is also another name for the second book ; it is ऐकपदिक R. 63-2. We have seen how the name could have arisen. If we laid too much stress on इत्याचक्षते so they call it R. 65-2, then we might say that it is a name in use before Yāska ; his name for the section is 'नैगम. We can also see how that section could have received this name. Because it contained chiefly निगम or 'Vedic words' whose संस्कार is not known, therefore it was नैगमकाण्ड. See Max Müller A. S. L. 155.

It is possible to apply this division also to the निषण्डवः. The first three chapters of these lists, containing words from अपारे इति द्यावापृथिवी नामधेयानि constitute नैषण्डुक ; the fourth, from जहा to जर्षीसं, forms the नैगम or the ऐकपदिक and the fifth the दैवत. But as a rule it is applied only to the निरुक्त. Roth is therefore wrong in calling the whole of the lists themselves the नैषण्डुककाण्ड or a section of the work.

VI. R. 40, 15 and 16 ; S. II 160, 13. शवतिर्गतिकर्मा काम्बोजेष्वये भाष्यते । विकारमस्यायेषु भाष्यन्ते शव इति it is only among the Kambojas that the root शवति, meaning 'to go' is used ; its derivative शव, is used among the 'Aryans.' Roth has a long note on this passage. It means:—"This passage is more than a riddle. The first distinction is made between the Kambojas and the Aryans i. e. the people of the North-west, who were formerly Aryans, but who now no longer have a common faith and learning (with the Aryans), and the genuine Aryans. The former are supposed to say शवतिर्गतिकर्मा, the latter on the contrary शव इति गतिकर्मा. So far as the Aryans are concerned, this is wrong according to all the other older grammars that we know and according to Yāska's own work, who in III, 18 and IV, 13 says शवतेर्गतिकर्मणः, although no one would regard him as a Kāmboja (for that). Further the Easterners, who with the Northerners form only sub-sections of the Aryans themselves—compare the use of the term in Pān ; Böhlingk II S. V.—would also use the same terminology as is current among the Kambojas ; and therefore the first distinction (between Aryans and Kambojas) would be done away with. Under these circumstances, the only possible explanation appears to me to be that we have to banish from our texts the words—शवति to शव इति' as an unskilful interpolation of a wiser grammarian. But still the passage is valuable as it shows that (the existence of) a Sanskrit grammar among the Kambojas was at any rate presumed."

The passage therefore, is an interpolation according to Roth. I think this conclusion is based upon a misconception: first because there is no mention of a terminology that was current in certain regions etc; and secondly because Roth has not understood the meaning properly. For the passage certainly does not mean 'the Kambojas say शवतिर्गतिकर्मा.' The meaning of भाष्यते and भाष्यन्ते appears to have puzzled Roth. It means 'is spoken' i. e. is current in the language. The passage only means that the root itself is current

among the Kambojas, whereas only the derivative is used in the Aryan Language. I don't quite see how III, 18 'इवाशुयायी शवतेर्वास्यात् गतिकर्मणः' contradicts 'शवतिर्गतिकर्मा काम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते. The former means that श्वा could be derived from the root शव् which means to go. Does this look like the root or base itself being current among the Aryans? It is only a derivative from it that is current. The same can be said of IV, 13 शूरः शवतेर्गतिकर्मणः—शूर is derived from शव् 'to go.' Does this say that the base शव् itself is current in the Aryan language? It is only the derivative शूर that is current there. And there is no harm in deriving a derivative from a root that might not happen to be current in the same dialect.

Yāska has clearly said in the sentences immediately proceeding this passage that roots or bases only are used in certain regions, while derivatives from these bases only in others. As an example, the root शव् only is current among the Kambojas, while its derivative only is current among the Aryans. प्रकृतय एव एकेषु भाष्यन्ते विकृतय एव एकेषु R. 40, 15.

VII. R. 40, 19 and 20 S. II 161, 2 and 3. वण्डो वदतेर्भाष्यतिकर्मणोऽक्रूरो वदते मणिमिदमभिभाषन्ते । Durga's note on the passage at S. 552. 18ff runs thus. 'Do we anywhere find वदति in the sense of भारयति—he holds? Yes; both in Veda and in common parlance (what Yāska calls भाषायां or इति अभिभाषन्ते, भाष्यते, e. g. R. 33, 5 नूनमिति विचिकित्सार्थीयो भाषायामुपबन्धव्यायम्). In the Veda in विश्वे देवाः पुष्करे स्वावदन्त VII, 33, 11. see R. 84, 11. In common parlance or colloquially 'अक्रूरो etc. Akrūra was a king, the ruler of the वृष्ण्यन्धक. He holds the jewel named स्वर्नतक on his head'. Durga evidently refers to the celebrated theft of the jewel, a dark episode in Kṛishṇa's life.

Roth's remark on this passage is as follows. 'If one would draw literary-historical conclusions from this example, taken from the well-known legend of the Yādava race regarding the jewel स्वर्नतक, we must draw attention to the fact, that the example is here inserted (interpolated) in a form, which nowhere else occurs in Yāska.

What Roth means by the last words of his remarks is not very clear. Perhaps Roth finds it strange that Yāska should take a colloquial passage to support this view. If so, I think justice is scarcely done to Yāska, who now and again points out differences between the भाषा and the वेद. The contrast भाषायां and अन्वध्यायं is a constant feature of the exposition of निपात or particles; e. g. R. 32, 10 इवेति भाषायां चान्वध्यायं च etc.

The whole passage R. 32, 24 to 33, 7 points to the fact that Yāska has drawn many examples from the living dialect, called भाषा e. g. कथं हि व्याकरिष्यतीति. खलु कृत्वा. खलु कृतम्. It is true Yāska has not repeated the words अभिभाषन्ते after these, as in our passage. But so much is clear that Yāska has not totally disregarded the भाषा in his exposition. And it is not at all strange that he should quote a passage from the भाषा, even if it looks like a half verse. It is again in the fitness of things that in this particular connection Yāska should prefer the भाषा to the अध्याय or वेद: for वण्डपुहव is not a Vedic word occurring in the निषण्डु. It occurs incidentally just as an example in the course of the exposition of general principles of etymology, which Yāska lays down at the beginning of the second chapter.

I think no valid reason has been brought forward by Roth to prove that the passage is an interpolation. इदमभिभाषन्ते is a parallel expression to इति विज्ञायते which latter is used when the quotation is from a ब्राह्मण (although इति च ब्राह्मणं is often used in such cases) or at any rate not from the भाषा or colloquium.

Now what are the literary-historical conclusions that Roth fears to draw? Well, they are that Yāska knew the Syamantaka story. This places the episode beyond Yāska; and so far as we know there is no absurdity that could vitiate the conclusion. The passage may also suggest that Akrūra's time was not far anterior to Yāska, if the present tense of वदते is respected. But it might be a sort of adage and therefore the present tense need not carry us to any conclusion like that.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 171.)

The Plan of Campaign.

With such a strong array, Rāmappaiya set out on his campaign. Proceeding along the Vaigai, the army fixed its camp at the end of the first day at Chinna Rāvuttan Pālayam. The next day it reached Vaṇḍiyūr. From thence two days' march brought it by way of Tiruppuvanam to Vāna Vira Madura¹⁴ in Aḷagar country, the strong and fortified place where the Māviliyāṇan had lived and ruled. The van of the Madura army—600 elephants, 700 camelry and 6,000 cavalry—no sooner reached the banks of its magnificent lake than the spies of Saḍayakka carried the news to him. They described in glowing and eloquent language the formidable nature of the invading army; but the Sētupati got more furious than afraid. Had he not conquered and enslaved kings at Paramakuḍi?¹⁵ Had they forgotten their experiences so early? Did he not conquer Śūrappayya and Aruṇanātha? He would never cease fighting unless and until he captured and chastised this foolish Brahman, this brainless adventurer, this dabbler in war. He would sacrifice his throne, his very life, if he did not before long tie a cocoanut to the Brahman's knot of hair and paraded him in shame before a jeering and pitying world. With this commendable resolution the Marava chief prepared to meet the enemy. Nothing deterred him from his resolve to fight to the bitter end. The Paṇḍāram of Rāmaliṅgasvāmy, indeed, said that, as a result of his consultations with the divinity, he anticipated defeat in case of war, and therefore advised him to yield and pay tribute. But Saḍayakka was more in a mood to give reproof than to take advice, and the priest had to leave the royal presence in sullen anger. All the men of the Marava land were immediately called to arms. The fierce Vannimalai Kumāra Vīran, the tiger-like Magattilān (?) (மாத்திலான்), the Kurumba of Koṇḍamkōṭṭai, the chief of Sembi Nāḍu and Maṅgala Nāḍu, the Rāvuttas,—all assembled under the general leaderships of Vishakanṭha Dēva, Mottai Uḍayān, Karutta Uḍayān, and above all, Vaṇṇiya, the son-in-law of Saḍa-yakka and the bravest fighter of the day. Bold and daring, fierce and aggressive, these chieftains looked on their Brahman opponent with contempt and hatred. They vowed either to capture him or to die in the field. They asked if he had no god to perform *pūja* to, and what right he had to take up the occupation of the soldier! Vaṇṇiyan vowed to take away his sacred thread and use it to tie up cows! Inspired by such feelings they marched in different directions to meet the enemy. Kumāra Vira went to the defence of Ariyāṇḍipura-Kōṭṭai, Motta Uḍayān, Karutta Uḍayān and Rāvutta Kāttan occupied Pogaḷūr. Pottai Uḍayān and Vishakanṭha Tēvan, went to Pudu-kiḷ-Kōṭṭai(?). The next day, Vaṇṇiga saw the Madura army at Ariandipur Kōṭṭai. An engagement immediately followed,—the first in the war—and ended in the victory of the Marava. The Madura camp was plundered, and 300 men lay dead, while the Maravas lost 60. Rāmappaiya, however, renewed the attack on the place the next day. His army was in 18 divisions, while the enemy's in five divisions, under the respective

¹⁴ See p. 312 of Taylor's *Rest, MSS.*, Vol. IV. (Line 16). It is later on called in the *MS. Mānāmadurai*.

¹⁵ It evidently refers to some local chiefs. In the reign of Kumāra Kṛishṇappa it was under a Tumbuchchi Nāik, as we have already seen. Perhaps the Sētupati had distinguished himself by subduing certain turbulent chiefs of the place.

commands of Karutta Uḍayān, Vishakantha, Pottai Uḍayān, Mada¹⁶ Tēvan and Kāṭṭa Tēva. The battle was indecisive, each losing 300 people. During the next two days, the valour of Māppillai Koṇḍappaiya and Vēnkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya took the offensive, and though the poem, with its onesidedness, attributes greater loss to the Nāik army, succeeded in breaking through the enemy. Then the struggle began in full fury. The Maravas were first put to immense trouble. "Like deer caught in a net and water in the midst of mountains," they fumed and raged, toiled and moiled. The men of Ariyāṇḍipūr and Kāḍāṇḍakuḍi, however, came for their rescue, and in the subsequent engagement, they were, we are informed, successful, and inflicted, besides the loss of 200 horses, 10 elephants and 3,000 men, death on the chiefs of Virāpākshi, the Toḍḍamān, Kāmākshi Nāik and three others. The next day, however, Rāmappaiya besieged Ariyāṇḍipur Kōṭṭai and took it.

Pursuing his success, he came to Kāḍāṇḍakuḍi, crossed the Vaigai and at "Attiyutti-kōṭṭai" (Ramnad Taluk) came up with Saḍayakka himself. A furious engagement followed, in which Saḍayakka was seriously wounded, and compelled in spite of Vaṇṇigan's bravery, to retreat with all his forces, treasure, palanquin and state paraphernalia to the Pāmban channel. Rāmappaiya promptly took "Attiyutti-kōṭṭai" and pursued his adversary. The Sēṭupati therefore crossed the channel to Rāmēśvaram, and trusted himself, as the poem says, to Rāmanātha Svāmi's grace!

A Diversion to the North.

At this stage, while Rāmappaiya was enjoying a well-earned rest from his recent campaign, he received the terrible tidings from his master that 30,000 men of the 'Mugila' (Mughal ?) and the Padshah 'of Golconda' had crossed the pass into the Rāya's dominions, laid waste the country around Vēlur and Vijayapuram, and were about to invade the Nāik kingdom. With characteristic promptness, Rāmappaiya resolved to go to the north. Leaving the seat of his recent war with the promise of returning in eight days and with the strict orders to the Polygars to keep a vigilant watch over the ports and forts, he proceeded to Madura, had an interview with Tirumal Nāik, and at the head of 1,000 horse, hurried to the north. The poem gives his route of march,—Sōlavandān, Vaḍamadurai, Dindigul, Tikkamalai Maṇappārai, Raṭṭaimalai, Trichinopoly, Srirāgam, Samayāvaram, Kaṇṇanūr, Ūṭattūr, Vālikoṇḍapura, and Vēlūr. The gallant general had an interview, we are told, with the Rāya¹⁷, received the *pān supāri* of supreme command from him, and hurried towards Bangalore. There he joined Ikkēri Vēnkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya and assisted him in driving the Muhammadans across the river and defeating them with great slaughter. With 1,000 cavalry, 50 camels, and 60 elephants as the spoils of war, he returned to the Rāya, after, we are told, going as far as Bijapūr and Ānagundi. At Vēlūr he was received with magnificent cordiality and pressed by the Rāya to stay, but he naturally refused, and promising to go there at least once a year, set out on his return journey, and by the same route, reached Sōlavandān and Piḷlaippālayam.¹⁸ The gratitude of Tirumal Nāik had arranged for a grand welcome through the hero's brother Vaidyanātha; but waiving that pleasure and honour to the time when he would return as the victor from Rāmēśvaram,

¹⁶ The name of this chief is not quite clear in the MS. He is always given the title *Madurai-vēli-kaṇḍa*, i. e., who saw the way to Madura.

¹⁷ This must be Vēnkaṭapati II, who ruled till 1642. (See *Arch. annual*, 1911-2). Ikkēri and the neighbouring powers were of course involved in war with Bijapūr, but it is difficult to say how far the story of Rāmappaiya's cooperation with them is true. It is curious that the poem ignores Mysore. It is also very inaccurate in its topography, for it places Vijayapura and Ānagundi on the way from Vēlūr to Ūṭattūr!

¹⁸ I have not been able to identify this place.

Rāmappaiya went direct to "mattam Śirukuḷi." Here he bestowed a lasting benefit on the people by subduing the fierce Kaḷḷas who had given them incessant trouble. From there he went by way Tiruppuvāna¹⁹ and Vāna-vīra Madurai to Puḡalūr, where Kumāra Alāha and others resisted him. The Brahman general threatened to take very severe measures if they did not yield, and when they were obstinate, he attacked the place with wonted energy, took it, and with singular cruelty put the leaders to death. Puḡalūr taken, Rāmappaiya was able to promptly march, through Āttangarai²⁰ and 'Vēdāni' (?), to the Pāmban channel.

The building of the Pamban Causeway.

Rāmappaiya's return to the Pamban was the sign of extraordinary activity in that quarter. Undaunted by any obstacle and undeterred, even by nature, he embraced the "mad" idea of rebuilding, like his divine namesake, the Sētu, and marching his gigantic army across it to attack. Everywhere the revelation of the general's design excited laughter. Men spoke that uniform victory had affected his brain, and that his folly was sure to bring him ruin. But Rāmappaiya scorned all scorn. Opposition only strengthened his activity, and when many refused, he shewed that he was true to any work by carrying the stone for the dam himself. Everybody was then surprised and ashamed, and the Nāik and the Marava, the Telugu and the Tamil, the Canarese and the Malayāḷi, combined together to build the dam. Each contributed, like the old monkeys, his share, and with the growth of the causeway their enthusiasm grew. Public women, says the poem in a true vein of humour, laughed at the soldiers, and asked, while they were lifting the stones, *where* their swords were, their robes, their ornaments. In great shame, the latter complained to the general, and he ordered the 7,000 dancing girls of the kingdom to join! Each was compelled to take seven stones, singing all the while! The mild and indolent Chēttis, seeing their condition, clapped their hands in contempt, and asked where had gone their proud gait, their sounding ank'lets were! Were they not like Gopura asses lifting mud? In great anger, the fair victims of the taunt appealed to the Daḷavāi, and he issued the mandate that every one of the 8,000 Chēttis of the land should join in the business and place 10 stones at least for the growing causeway! While the Chēttis were paying the penalty of pride, an Āṇḍi forgot the lesson and remarked how well they deserved this punishment—they that told the beggars to come ever afterwards, that would not pay a *pie* even if addressed as "father" and took the shoe when addressed as uncle! The only result was that the Āṇḍis and Paradēsis had to contribute *their* share to the grand undertaking! The progress of the dam in consequence was startlingly rapid, and Rāmappaiya was able to carry his men across and lay siege to the island.

Rāmappaiya's alliance with the Portuguese.

The Sētupati was now in serious danger and was indefatigable in his endeavours to save the island at all costs. Rāmappaiya at this stage is said to have had some negotiations with the Parāṅgis of Singaḷa, Colombo, Manaar and Cochin, whom the Sētupati had alienated by his collection of extravagant tribute. Rāmappaiya offered them not only the freedom from tribute but the island itself in case they helped him, and they consented. It is not a difficult thing to say who these Parāṅgis were. They should have been, of course, either the Dutch or the Portuguese²¹ who were, as we have already seen, busy attacking each other in this part of the

¹⁹ A very important religious centre, 16 miles off Śivagaṅga. See *Antiquities* I, p. 298.

²⁰ This village is in the Ramnad Taluk. Śirukuḷi is also here. I have not been able to identify Vēdāni.

²¹ See Danvers, Vol. II.

world; and a little thought shews that Rāmappaiya must have obtained the cooperation of the Portuguese. At the time when Tirumal Nāik ascended the throne the Dutch had been gaining ground everywhere. Almost every year they blockaded Goa and subjected it to immense loss of trade. The English, then allies of the Dutch, acted with them and, with their superior ships and men, secured easy victories. Every where the Portuguese lost. Malacca, once the most flourishing centre of eastern trade, was reduced to a second-rate dependency, yielding barely a revenue 3,000 *cruzados*. In Ceylon, indeed, the Portuguese had their own way; for in 1628 they erected forts at Trincomali and Batticalao and provoked a successful war with Kandy. But the very next year the Portuguese general was decoyed into mountains and, deserted by the Singhalese section of his troops, was defeated and slain by Rāja Singha. In 1633 their position, it is true, was somewhat bettered; for, a convention with the English East India Company introduced an era of comparative immunity from a formidable enemy; and at the same time, a number of victories in Ceylon made Rāja Singha agree to a treaty in April 1633, by which he was to share his dominions with two other sons of queen Catherina, to refrain from wars in future without due notice and reasons, to give Betticalao to Portugal, to pay one elephant as tribute every year, and to permit a prelate of the order of St. Francis to reside in Kandy and minister to the religious wants of the Christians of that locality.²¹ But much of this success was undone by the weakness, the disunion and the cruelty of the Portuguese themselves. They thoroughly "alienated the native populations as much by the barbarities perpetrated not only on their defeated enemies but on harmless and defenceless women and children, as by the persistency with which they endeavoured to force the Catholic religion on all who became subject to their rule". At the same time, owing to their defective management of commercial affairs, the revenues in the different ports dwindled down to practically nothing. More than these, the Jesuits and priests, whom they encouraged at their own expense, became enemies more deadly than the Dutch themselves. They assumed a tone of arrogance in their conduct and made bold to defy the viceroy himself. They retained bands of men at their own expense in total disobedience to the government. They interfered in politics and in trade, and made themselves absolute masters of the pearl fisheries of Travancore and the Indian coast. They actually waged war against His Majesty's captains on the seas. They obtained, by underhand means, a general charge over the several fortresses of the north and refused to render any account of the expenditure. They purchased lands and received legacies without permission. Above all they held secret communications with the Dutch and even with the Muhammadans. Deriving every support from the government, they thus proved ungrateful intriguers against its authority. The government did indeed prohibit them in 1635 from purchasing land and receiving legacies without sanction, and from interference with pearl fisheries, on pain of the loss of the care of the Christians. But the large allowances they had been drawing and the large private property they had accumulated, made them indifferent to these threats. Financially the dependents of the State, they were actually richer than the State, which, on account of its poverty, could not even pay the soldiers and therefore drove them to be monks. The life of the monk in fact became the coveted life of the day. Hundreds of people who came every year from Portugal on the King's service, gave up their original object and embraced the easy and alluring occupation of monk. It is no wonder that the ecclesiastical men in Goa were far out of proportion to officials

²¹ For a detailed account of the religious activity of the Portuguese in Ceylon see Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon*, 22-29.

and laymen, that they outnumbered the soldiers and civilians put together. An empire assailed by such gross evils could not but undergo irrevocable dismemberment and decadence, and within the next 20 years it was destined to collapse. In 1635 the ²³ Portuguese, however, adopted an enterprising policy against the Dutch. They entered into an arrangement²⁴ with Vēṅkaṭapati II, by which he was, in return for 30,000 *xeraffins*, 12 horses, and 6 elephants, to attack the Dutch at Pulicat by land, while they were to do so by the sea. On the success of this affair depended the future of Portuguese trade on the Coromandel coast. Vēṅkaṭapati, however, was unable to carry out his part of the engagement on account of, as he himself said, a disturbance in his own dominions. The Portuguese fleet (of 12 ships), which had come to the Dutch port, had therefore to go back towards Ceylon. On the way they entered into a quarrel with Tirumal Nāik, at Tuticorin. The cause of the quarrel was Jesuit perfidy. More worldly than the most worldly of laymen, these Jesuits had made themselves the practical lords of Tuticorin and its trade, and with the support of an army formed by themselves, they defied their Portuguese benefactors, intrigued with Tirumal Nāik and instigated him to seize a Portuguese agent who had been sent to purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants.²⁵ It was with a view to overawing the Jesuits and chastising the Nāik that the Portuguese came to Tuticorin. Their endeavour seems to have been successful. The details are not known, but it seems that the Portuguese demonstration taught the Jesuits and the Nāik the value of gratitude on the one hand and of a milder policy on the other. It was just a few months after this that the Sētupati war broke out, and he found himself a prisoner in the island of Rāmēśvaram. It is not improbable, nay it seems certain, that the Sētupati asked for and obtained the assistance of the Dutch in this crisis, (though the poem does not mention this) and that Rāmappaiya, as a countermove, conciliated the Portuguese. The Portuguese had too many reasons to come to such a bargain. During the last two years the Dutch had proved singularly troublesome. They had allied themselves with the emperor Vēṅkaṭapati by the tempting payment of 20,000 *pardos* for the uninterrupted possession of Pulicat. They had attacked Mylapore and reduced its wealth and population. They had seized the whole trade from Japan to the Straits. Above all, they intrigued with the Grand Moghul, Shah Jahan, and let loose his anger on them. They had moreover endeavoured to undermine²⁶ the Portuguese influence in the courts of Tanjore and Ginji. All these circumstances induced the Portuguese to readily join the Madura general in the siege of Rāmēśvaram. It is not surprising that

²³ Sewell refers to this agreement, but he attributes it to 1633. He also refers to a second agreement of a similar date and it is not improbable that it was in 1635.

²⁴ Mr. Rea in his "Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company" refers to this, though he gives the wrong date of 1653. "In 1653," he says, "the Sētupati of Ramnad rebelled and entrenched himself in the island of Pamban. He was assisted by a number of Europeans who came in five vessels from Ceylon and Cochin. Their motive was said to be to gain a footing in the country. They might have been either Portuguese or Dutch. They were most probably the latter, for at that time their activity was on the increase." Rea's surmise is correct; for the Portuguese were on the side of Tirumal Nāik.

²⁵ Danvers II, 250. Between 1636 and 1638 the king of kandy also was on the side of the Dutch, to become afterwards the dupe and victim of their treachery. For details based on Baldæus see Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 38.9. As regards the trade in elephants in the Portuguese and Dutch periods see the same writer's *Natural History of Ceylon*, p. 163.4.

²⁶ Danvers II, 268. The Nāik, however, was unwise in joining the losing side. For the Dutch took place after place after this. In 1639 they took Trincomali, (see Ceylon R. A. S. 1887). In 1658 they took Manar, arrived at Tuticorin, and the Portuguese, after a slight resistance, evacuated the town, burnt their vessels and took to flight and the Dutch occupied it. (Danvers II, 220); in 1660 Negapatam fell.

"on the 13th August, 1639, an ambassador arrived at Goa from the Nâik of Madura, who gave the Viceroy an assurance, on the part of his master, that in consideration of the assistance that had been sent to him when he wished to take Marava, he undertook to give the King of Portugal a fortress in Pampa, called Uthead, or wherever he might desire one, with a Portuguese Captain, fifty Portuguese soldiers, 100 lascars, and 3,000 *pardaos* for the maintenance of the same; he also undertook to build at his own cost a church at Ramnad, and seven churches between Pamban and Tondi. The Nâik also gave permission to all those who might desire it to become Christians, and promised to furnish gratuitously to the King of Portugal all the assistance he might require, both in men and supplies for service in Ceylon. He further undertook not to be friendly to the Dutch, nor to admit them into his territories, whilst his vessels would also not be permitted to visit Dutch ports."

The Siege of Rāmēṣvaram.

To resume the narrative of the war. When the forces of Madurā encompassed the island, the Vaṇṇiyan redoubled his energies, to invest their boats and to remove their bowels. Taking the idols of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in his ship, he gave battle to the besieger. During the first two days it was indecisive. On the third 500 ships (!), it is said, were engaged in the battle, and Rāmappaiya and his generals were so terrible that the Sātupati's army lost 6000 men and fled in confusion. The island was about to be taken when the valour and common sense of Vaṇṇiyan turned the disaster into victory. The ensuing day, the Madura Daḷavāi issued orders that if his lieutenants failed again they would be executed. At the same time he resorted, as the poem evidently seems to imply, to magical incantations²⁷ and caused this great rival to suffer from small-pox. Vaṇṇiya and his uncle were undaunted. They proceeded to Rāmanāthasvāmi's shrine and prayed to obtain his grace. They implored the favour of Durga, Kālī, Māri and other deities by the magnificence of their offerings and the sincerity of their prayer. They summoned the learned orthodox and with their aid performed sacrifices. The result of all these special enterprises was seen in the formation of 'royal boils' throughout Rāmappaiya's body, and gave him unbearable pain. Nothing daunted, however, he fought on. The waters around the island were dyed red, and the Maravas were panic-stricken. Vaṇṇiya himself left his sick bed and resorted to the battlefield, the last he was to engage in. Tied on to an elephant, he came in the midst the of usual paraphernalia. The five-coloured umbrella was held up before him. The *chamaras* were waved, the 18 kinds of music sounded, the archers formed the front ranks, and silver ringed matchlocks were carried. Auspicious omens attended him. The Garuḍa circled over him, while Rāmappaiya had bad omens and forebodings. He dreamt that his master was killed by Vaṇṇiya, crows cawed over him and his left shoulders throbbed. The battle which followed was furious on both sides, and ended in the victory of the Marava. Admired and loved, the hero returned home and, as it turned out, to his death bed. Feeling the call of death, he advised his uncle to write to Rāmappaiya offering obedience and loyalty and an indemnity of one crore of rupees, and to surrender after getting an oath of fidelity in the name of his elder brother. With this wholesome advice the hero died. The poem describes, in eloquent and pathetic language, the widespread lamentations of the relations

²⁷ An interesting contribution by Burgess on the ritual of Rāmēṣvaram can be studied in connection with this subject, *ante.*, XII. pp. 315-26. See *ante.*, Vol. XXVIII for examples of the application of magic to kill an enemy.

of the people, and the *sati* of his wife. The very next day, the Sêṭupati's letter of surrender reached Rāmappaiya and two *sthēnapatis* from the latter waited on the illustrious chief. With gold and silver flowers, with ornaments and other presents, he came to the great Daḷavāi's presence. But no sooner did he make obeisance than the Brahman, with singular lack of chivalry, asked the fallen chief to shew him the cocoanut which he had vowed to tie to his hair. In proud and dignified sullenness, the Sêṭupati replied that, if his nephew were alive, he would hardly have occasion to stand there and hear this supercilious language. The Daḷavāi thereupon ordered him to be put in fetters, and when, immediately after, the army returned to Madura and Saḍayakka was brought in chains before Tirumal Nāik and was asked by the latter why he had dared to disobey, the prisoner gave him the same reply that, but for his nephew's death, he would never have yielded. The only result of this was that the Sêṭupati was subjected to the miserable life of a prisoner. There, the poem concludes, he made an earnest prayer to his Rāma to free him from his misery, and to the surprise of all, the chains which bound him broke of themselves, and made his person free. The news of the miracle was immediately carried to Tirumal Nāik, he felt convinced that the Sêṭupati had the full grace of Rāmanāthasvāmy and set him free. Saḍayakka²⁸ then made obeisance to the Karta, and was taken to Rāmnāḍ and crowned in great pomp.

Such is the story given in the *Rāmappaiyan Amṁānai*. Nelson²⁹ gives a slightly different version. He says that Rāmappaiya actually died in the midst of the war on account of the enemy's resort to the black art, that he was then succeeded by Siva Rāmaiya, his son-in-law, and that the latter, not less brave than his predecessor, succeeded in taking the island and capturing the rebel and one of his nephews, Danakadēva. The prisoners were taken to Madura and there kept in prison. Tambi Sêṭupati was now placed at the head of the Maravas. He thus gained his ambition, but he was not wise enough to strengthen himself by an equitable rule. His want of statesmanship and his injustice raised popular discontent and diminished the revenues; and this state of things was availed of by Raghunātha Teva and his brother Nārāyaṇa to set up their claims and raise the standard of rebellion. Popular sympathy enabled them to gain the victory and make themselves the masters of Rāmnāḍ. Tambi once again resorted to Tirumal and prayed to him to restore him. But a large number of Bhairāgis and pilgrims waited on Tirumal and impressed on him that peace and security would come back to the country only if the Daḷavāi Sêṭupati was set free and restored. Thus it was that the rightful heir came to the throne. For a space of five or six years he ruled in peace; the country recovered from the effects of the war, and the people were contented. The *History of the Carnataca Governors* gives a simpler account. It says, that when Saḍayakka was in prison, the roads to Rāmeśvaram became unsafe. "The Bhairāgis and Lāḍa Sanyāsins in consequence who had come from the north in pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram, waited for many a day outside the palace for an interview with the king, laid their own complaints, and earnestly begged for the liberation of Saḍayakka. The king sympathised with them and setting the

²⁸ According to one version Saḍayakka died at Rāmeśvaram but not before encompassing the death of his younger brother by roagie. J. L. W. believes in this, and thinks that Tirumal Nāik could not have conquered the Maravas, "that the United States of the Maravas had already begun to attain a vigour and power of resistance quite superior to any force," that the Madura monarch could put in the field. This is of course absurd. *Calc. Rec.* 1878, p. 431.

²⁹ See Appendix I; also *O. H. MSS.* II, 180-1.

Sētopati free, asked him to behave more wisely in the future, and dismissed him to his kingdom with presents of robes and ornaments."

SECTION V.

War with Sri Rāṅga Rāya.

From these events it is plain how deficient Tirumal Nāik was in all those talents of statesmanship which conduce to the strength and security of a kingdom. Lacking in foresight and in firmness, he signalised his reign by a series of blunders, which, far from fulfilling his ambitions, went to curb his power and subject his kingdom to the evils of war and his subjects, to misery. We have already seen how, immediately after his accession, he entertained the idea of declaring himself formally independent, and made warlike preparations, but how other circumstances intervened and, besides checking his ambition, dictated a more peaceful attitude. Epigraphical evidence conclusively prove that he acknowledged his sovereign as late as 1634 (Bhāva). An inscription of 1629 at Tāḍikkombu shews that³⁰ Rāma Dēva was acknowledged. In 1634 again, we are informed, the nominal emperor Vira Vēṅkaṭapati Dēva (Venkata II.), granted, at the humble and loyal request of Tirumal Nāik, the village of Kūniyūr¹ or Muttukūṣhāpuram in the Viravanallūr Māgāṇa of Mullai Nāḍu in Tiruvāḍi Rājya to certain Brahmans. But no sooner did the Sētopati war end than Tirumal gave up this loyal attitude and renewed his alliance with the governors of Tanjore and Ginji and entered into war with the nominal Emperor. And it was well that he secured the cooperation of those chiefs. For about 1642, there came³² to the throne at Chandragiri a prince, Srīraṅga Rāya III by name, whose talents and character made him an exceptionally powerful monarch. He had, unlike his immediate predecessors, a superior spirit and understanding which could hardly, like their meek and placid disposition, submit without a murmur to the insolence of his vassals. Immediately after his accession he seems to have entertained the idea of reviving the greatness of his ancestors and releasing the central government from the turbulence of local and provincial authorities. Such a prince, with such a policy of centralisation and efficiency, could hardly ignore the formidable treason of Tirumal and his confederates. With a large and formidable force, therefore, he promptly marched southward to chastise the guilt of his feudatories. This stern resolution and prompt action on the part of the emperor seems to have struck terror into the hearts³³ of the governors, and cooled their ardour for united action.

The Emperor's Victory.

Both from principle and habit they had long been jealous of one another, and the present sense of common danger or common interests could not overcome their traditional

³⁰ *Antiquities*, 1, 289.

³¹ Near Shermādēvi, S. of Tāmbraparni. See *Ep. Ind.* III, 236-58 for detail, also *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1891, June, p. 6. On the other hand, an inscription of 1642-3 (395 of 1914) recording the grant of a village to the Chokkanātha temple does not mention any suzerain.

³² The date of his accession, according to Mr. Krishna Sastri was in September or October of 1642. see *Arch. annual*, 1911-2.

³³ Orme quotes Thevenot (*Fragments* p. 231) to shew that Vellore was the capital, while Chandragiri had occupied that place at the end of the 17th century. See J. H. Garstin's *S. Arcot Manual*, p. 4. In his *Forg. Emp.*, p. 233, Sewell points out from Portuguese records of St. Thome that about 1635 the king was at Vellore and that the king was then "devoid of energy, and that one Timma Rāya had revolted against him." It is very likely that this Timma Rāya was Tirumal Nāik.

rivalry. When Śrī Rāṅga Rāya approached Ginji, therefore, he found his adversaries not only unprepared, but disunited. The Nāik of Tanjore, evidently the pious Vijaya Rāghava, availed himself, with plausible sincerity, of the first chance to add a second treason to the first. At the mere sight of the imperial forces, he deserted his allies, offered his submission to Śrī Rāṅga Rāya, informed him of the nature and extent of the confederate league, and, faithful to his new allegiance, took part in the operations of the imperial army. Śrī Rāṅga was now in a position to march on Ginji. It is impossible to explain the lethargic despair into which Tirumal Nāik fell at this crisis.

More than fifteen years back,³⁴ he had commenced, in the anticipation of this very war, to husband the resources of his realm, and what was more, would probably have succeeded, if the war had then broken out; and yet, fifteen years later, when the invasion did actually take place,—an invasion that, being the sole outcome of his deliberate treason, must have been long expected by him—he showed himself, even with the assistance of the Governor of Ginji, singularly impotent. What were the reasons of this strange inconsistency? Possibly, the military strength of Madura had been weakened by the Ramnad rebellion. Possibly, Tirumal had not yet recovered from the effects of his protracted wars with Mysore and Travancore. His very eagerness to ignore his differences with the chiefs of Ginji and Tanjore and to enlist their co-operation had been in all probability due to this exhaustion of his resources. It is at the same time probable that he mistook the military capacity of his suzerain, and deluded himself into the notion that the emperor was too weak to resist or too timid to chastise his disaffection. Whatever it was, the fickleness of the Tanjore Nāik and the unexpected activity of Śrī Rāṅga Rāya evidently upset his calculations, disappointed his expectations, and paralysed his energies. From that time he appears to have sunk into a depression of spirits which dulled the fiery elements of his nature and incapacitated him for exertion.

Tirumal's invitation to the Golconda Sultan.

At this crisis, he took a step, the enormity and folly of which will always single him out as one of the most shortsighted rulers in Indian History. This was no less than an invitation to the Sultan of Golconda the greedy Abdulla, Kutb Shah, the fifth of the Kutb Shahi dynasty and the deadly enemy of the Empire, to invade the Northern dominions of his master. It was a diplomatic move, no doubt, but the act of a political vandal who knew neither honour nor patriotism, and worshipped expediency and selfishness alone. For the sake of a title, Tirumal Nāik thus betrayed his religion and his country, besides sacrificing his conscience and his reputation. More than 300 years had passed since Malik Kafur had marched his army into South India. The obstinate defence of Vijayanagar on the one hand and the disunion among the Dakhan Sultans on the other hand prevented the complete Muhammadan conquest of this region. Even after the disaster of Talikōṭa and the removal of the seat of government to Pennakōṭa, the Musalmān attempt at conquest and domination had, as we have already seen, almost though not entirely, failed. And, by a strange irony of fate, it was reserved for the most orthodox king of the age to play the traitor and invite the dreaded enemy into the land. Mr. Nelson, an ardent admirer of Tirumal Nāik, mistakes his treachery for diplomacy, and considers his call for Musalmān interference to be a laudable break from the past isolation of Madura. But the conduct of

³⁴ Tirumal Nāik's rebellion against 'Vijayanagar' is generally attributed to 1633. See, for example, *S. Arcot., Gazr.* p. 36. But it took place after 1642.

Tirumal Nâik is too plainly shortsighted to be capable of defence. His was an action which no true statesman in his position would have taken, no true Hindu would have supported, and certainly no man with any knowledge of Moslem rule would have thought of.

As for the Sultan, he was too glad to embrace such a golden opportunity, an opportunity for which he and his ancestors had long waited in vain. He had learnt from experience that, so long as the Cis-Krishna lands were united under a single nominal sway, he could not, in spite of victories in the field of battle, plant his power permanently there. He had also known that the moment the viceroys of South India disavowed their allegiance to their common overlord, the conquest of that region was a question of time. The treason of Tirumal Nâik and the infidelity of his brother chiefs precipitated this very circumstance, and the Sultan only too eagerly seized the Nâik's proposal for an alliance and invasion. It is true, as Wilks says, that the Sultan of Golconda would have been wiser if he had joined the Sultan of Bijâpur, and opposed the Mughal who had taken Daulatabad in 1634 and Ahmadnagar in 1637, who had just established a regular imperial government in the Dakhan, and who openly desired to subdue and annex the two southern powers. But the Sultans were too shortsighted to understand their own interest. They "had arrived at that stage of civilization in which gorgeous and awkward splendour covered the most gross political darkness. Instead of directing their united force against his paramount and obvious danger, they were engaged in idle pomp and pageantry and in an arrogant and shortsighted project for the partition of the dominions of the South. It was agreed that each should extend his conquest over the countries of the Zemindars of the Carnatic as they affected to call them, who were nearer to their respective territories."³⁵ The aggression of Mysore in the upper Carnatic led many chiefs of that region—for instance those of Tarikera, Anicul, etc.—to call in the help of Bijapur, while the chiefs of Madura, Tanjore and Ginji in the lower Carnatic brought about, as we have already seen, the Golconda³⁶ invasion by their disaffection.

The Goleonda Invasion 1644?

The army which Abdulla sent in response to Tirumal Nâik's offer of alliance had a rapid and sure progress. The frontiers of the tottering Empire had been evidently left without defence, owing to the Emperor's engagement against his refractory vassals in the South. The Golconda army in consequence found the country a ready prey to their occupation and vandalism. In their fury, they ravaged the country, burnt villages, destroyed temples, tortured people, demolished edifices of rare architectural skill. Sri Raïga Râya was alarmed. He promptly abandoned his campaign in the south, and proceeded to the north to meet the new danger. We have no materials to enlighten us on the details of the campaign which followed. It seems that the valour of Sri Raïga Râya gained more than one victory, but it was hardly a match for the superior skill of his adversaries, and before long he had to resign his northern districts for ever. The prudence of Sri Raïga Râya then sacrificed his pride, and called in his troublesome vassals to suspend their animosities and combine in the defence of their homes and their gods. With truth and logic he point-

³⁵ Wilks, I, p. 41.

³⁶ Wilks is ignorant of this fact. He does not see that the actions of the lower Carnatic chiefs were independent of those of Mysore, and that they applied to the different Sultans. Owing to this ignorance, he thinks that the account of Golconda's dealing with Ginji must be a mistake of the copyist. Wilks does not know that it was Golcondah that first intervened in the lower Carnatic, though, owing to certain circumstances, which I shall presently point out, that had to retire and Bijapur took her place

ed out that the Muhammadan was as much an enemy to them as to himself. His appeal to reason failed, and he used, we may be certain, the language of threat and indignation, and vowed to chastise a guilt unpardonable under any circumstances. But his threats, and his entreaties were equally ineffectual. For months his endeavours brought forth little more than empty exchanges of sweet words. Shows and pomps, amusements and entertainments, followed in rapid but futile succession; but while the emperor's glory was exalted by pomp and pageantry, by falsehood and flattery, the profusion of praises on the part of the Nāiks was hardly accompanied by sincerity of feeling or rectitude of conduct. With the gorgeous display of loyalty and liberal assurance of support they combined a duplicity which did not hesitate to hold friendly communications with the invaders. The King of Mysore, the gallant and chivalrous Kanthirava Narasa Rāj, who came to the throne in 1639, was the only ruler who had a true and statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and who was true to his suzerain. But he, as we have already seen, had his own difficulties. While Golconda had been engaged in attacking the Empire in the plains, Bijapur had been warring³⁷ with him in the Upper carnaṭic. Indeed by 1637 the Bijapur General Rendulla Khan had overcome "the whole open country of Bankapur, Hurryhur, Baswapatam and Tarrikera, up to the woods of Bednore," and in 1638 laid siege to Srirāṅapattana³⁸ itself. Rendulla Khan succeeded in effecting a formidable breach and making a general assault; and it required the utmost energy and sleepless valour of Kanthirava to save the capital and compel the enemy to retreat. Under these circumstances, he could not promptly come to the assistance of his suzerain, and the army which he despatched in consequence was too late to assist or too weak to avenge. The Muhammadans had taken advantage of Sri Rāṅga's tardiness or rather weakness to garrison the conquered region, so that they now had new resources at their disposal. In a few months the prospect of Sri Rāṅga became so gloomy that he gave up the idea of defence and took refuge among the Kaḷlas of N. Tanjore, where, in the fidelity of his rude hosts, he forgot for a few months the precariousness of his situation. Misfortune, however, pursued him thither also. The loss of power and lands brought the loss of friends and attendants. Powerlessness provoked disaffection, and adversity ingratitude. Many a soldier, courtier and nobleman, deserted his sovereign at a time when his fortunes were in the lowest ebb, when the toils of hardship and the sorrows of want made life a burden to him. Friendless and homeless, the unfortunate monarch, a pathetic spectacle of fallen greatness, then fled for protection to the only chieftain who had proved himself to be a loyal servant and true statesman,—the ruler of Mysore.

(To be continued.)

³⁷ Wilks, I, p. 32 and 41. Kanthirava was a very strong and chivalrous ruler. Wilks narrates an instance of his chivalrous spirit. Once he went to the Trichi Court and defeated in combat a champion of that Court, who had defeated all his challengers from every part of India. Wilks I, p. 30. For his administration of Mysore, *Ibid*, p. 32-33. It is curious that Wilks does not refer to the war between the emperor and his vassals and to the part that Mysore played therein. The numismatic importance of Kanthirava's reign is described in Chap. XI; see also *Ante*, XX, p. 308-9; *Madr. Arch. Rep.* 1910-11 p. 3; Buchanan II, 381.

³⁸ The dominions of Jaga Deva at this time were all brought under the Mysore Rajas and the Muhammadans now attempted to take these regions. See Buchanan II, 484; *Rice's Mys. Gazr.* II, p. 62; and *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 62.

THIRTEEN NEWLY DISCOVERED DRAMAS ATTRIBUTED TO BHĀSA.

BY BHATTANATHA SVAMIN; KUMBAKONAM.

Mr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī of Trivandrum has edited a number of Sanskrit dramas and attributed them to the ancient dramatist Bhāsa, who is earlier than Kālidāsa. The discovery has resulted in drawing the attention of many Sanskritists, one of whom is Prof. Jacobi. *Mṛicchhakatika*, supposed to be one of the best, if not the best, of Sanskrit dramas, is now reduced to an adaptation of one of these dramas. How disappointing it is to be told that a poet praised for his unparalleled originality did nothing more than take an ancient drama and make several additions without much embellishing the original! Does this not show a hopeless lack of originality of the reviser? One should not forget, however, that this observation cannot be well established unless Bhāsa's authorship of these dramas is proved beyond doubt.

When we come to that question, what strikes us first is that none of these dramas supplies us with the name of the author. The editor, however, convinces himself that the author of all is no other than Bhāsa. He comes to this conclusion on the following grounds:

(1) Several instances show that all these dramas come from the pen of one and the same author. So if we succeed in discovering the author of one of them, we have the author of all.

(2) There is reason to identify one of these dramas with the *Svapnavāsavadatta* quoted by several authors. Hence if we know the author of *Svapnavāsavadatta*, we know the author of all these dramas.

(3) The verse of Rājasekhara which runs

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि श्लेकेऽभिने परीक्षितम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकौभूत पादकः ॥

tells us that the author of a number of dramas including the *Svapnavāsavadatta* is Bhāsa. From this we can conclude that the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka* and its sister dramas must have been written by Bhāsa, for they must necessarily have been composed by one who wrote *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

So the editor thinks that some, at any rate, of the dramas included in the *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-chakra*, as it is called by Rājasekhara, have been brought to light now for the first time.

But I am not convinced of Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī's arguments. Undoubtedly there are many references to a drama called *Svapnavāsavadatta*. We are thankful to the editor for having collected all those references in his introduction. The point to be considered is whether they are references to the drama now published with the title *Svapnavāsavadatta*. A careful examination of two references negatives this fact.

(1) Sarvaṇanda's *Tikā-sarvasva* on *Amarakośa* refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The passage as quoted in the introduction of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* runs as follows:—

“स्वप्ननात्मसात्कर्तुमुद्यमस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोर्थमुद्गारः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते । तृतीयस्तस्मैव वासव-
दत्तापरिणयः कानमुद्गारः ॥”

(See *Svapna*. Intro. p. XXII.)

This is a clear reference to the present drama which has Padmāvatī's marriage for its plot. But the passage actually found in Sarvaṇanda's work slightly differs from the above. The learned Śāstrī himself has undertaken the editing of the valuable work of

Sarvānanda, and the passage in question is found in the portion already come out of press. On page 147 of the first part of that publication we find

“ त्रिविधः शृङ्गारो धर्मार्थकामनिष्ठः । तत्रायो यथा नन्दयन्त्र्यां ब्राह्मणभोजनम् । द्वितीयः स्वदिश-
मात्ससात्कर्तुमुद्यमस्य पत्रावतीपरिणयोर्धृङ्गारः । तृतीयः स्वप्रवासवदत्ते तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः
कामशृङ्गारः ॥ ”

Whence, then, has the editor got the version which he has quoted in his introduction to the *Swapnavāsavadatta*? Taking existing MSS. of *Tikāsarvasva* to be imperfect here, the editor has cited what he has supposed to be the correct reading of the passage. This is proved by his foot-note on the passage in his publication of the *Tikāsarvasva*.

“ शृङ्गारः स्वप्रवासवदत्ते । तृतीयस्तस्यैव ” “ इति पाठः स्यात् ”

All this has been done because Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī considers that the drama called *Swapnavāsavadatta* is no other than the one published by him. I, on the contrary, suppose that the *Swapnavāsavadatta* quoted by Sarvānanda is an entirely different work and has for its plot Vāsavadattā's, and not Padmāvatī's, marriage with Udayana.

(2) My supposition is strengthened by another reference to the *Swapnavāsavadatta*. It is in Abhinavagupta's *Lochana* on the *Dhvanyāloka*. Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī remarks on the reference thus “The *Āryā*

“ सञ्चितपद्मकपादं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपतडनेन (?) ।

उद्गाढ्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं नै नृपतनूजा ॥

“ is quoted in page 152 in the 3rd Udyota of *Dhvanyālokalochana* as being taken from *Swapnavāsavadatta*. But I should think that this *śloka* is not from *Swapnavāsavadatta*, for it is found in none of the three manuscripts of ours. Besides, this *śloka* apparently signifies the springing up of love for a lady at first sight. It should be either for Vāsavadattā or Padmāvatī. But it could not be for the former, for the troubled thoughts of a lover for his far off lady appear in this *Nāṭaka* only long after a happy wedded life; nor could it be for the latter, for, she was offered to Vatsarāja even without his request, at a time when he was much afflicted with thoughts of Vāsavadattā. This surely could not be the occasion for describing his love for Padmāvatī. It is thus seen that this *śloka* could not find a place in *Swapnavāsavadatta*. Hence, we could not infer that this was an omission in the readings of some manuscripts owing to the *Nāṭaka* having ceased from circulation.” (*Swapna*. Intro. pp. XXIII f.)

I cannot but agree with the editor that the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta is a lover's expression of the depth of his love at first beholding his beloved and that there is no room for such an expression in the present *Swapnavāsavadatta*. I set aside the editor's assumption, however, that there has been only one *Swapnavāsavadatta* in the whole Sanskrit literature and that it is identical with the printed one. If there had been, as I suppose, another drama dealing with Udayana's making love to Vāsavadatta and if, on the authority of Sarvānanda, its designation must be *Swapnavāsavadatta*, we should have no reason to hesitate to declare that Abhinavagupta took the above *Āryā* from that drama, for the *śloka* can find a context in it.

If we consider the significance of the title *Swapnavāsavadatta*, we at once find that its application to the present drama has a certain amount of irrationality. The event from which a drama derives its name must have an importance; in other words, it should give effect to further development of the plot. In *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala* the ring which is the *abhijñāna*, or the object of recognition, is the central point of the plot of the fourth, fifth

and sixth acts, and of the seventh act to a little extent. It is introduced in the very first act where it serves the purpose of the king being recognised by the maidens. Thus Kālidāsa is fully justified in giving the name *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalā* to his play, which means अभिज्ञानप्रधानं शाकुन्तलम् "the work on [the story of] Śākuntalā whose prominent feature is some token of remembrance." The name *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, too, depends upon the pervading importance of the seal. The name *Vikramorvaiyā* means, according to some interpreters, "the work on [the story of] Ūrvaśī having valour as its important feature."¹ It is justifiable because Purūravas's valour releases Ūrvaśī from prison. Its effect on the love of Ūrvaśī is manifest in इला उभारिणं विरागसि etc. (p. 18);² कर्हि युद्धे सो भावणात्कम्पी भवे (p. 41); and गह सुरारिसंभवे दुज्जादे महाराओ एव्व सरणं आसि (p. 52). Also his valour is the cause of Indra's allowing Ūrvaśī's union with Purūravas. (See pp. 72 and 146). In *Mṛichchhakaṭika* the event of a clay cart has for its sequence Chārudatta's accusation, which resulted in speedy destruction of Pālaka through the hands of Chārudatta's friend Āryaka and his party, and thus brought prosperity to Chārudatta.³

Now to come to our subject, in the printed *Svapnavāsavadatta*, the *Svapna*, the scene of the fifth act has no striking connection with the main plot. It is introduced in an unexpected way and finished without manifesting any effect upon coming events. It is absurd of the author to name his drama after such an unimportant event. If Bhavabhūti had named his *Uttara-rāmacharita* after Rāma's union with the unperceived Sītā in the third act, it would not be more absurd than this designation. Though unimportant, it serves to safeguard Rāma from falling a victim to a broken-heart. Here this event of *svapna* is introduced when the king's state of mind has become less acute, as expressed by the words "मम नु मन्द इवाद्य शोकः।"⁴ Besides this, Padmāvatī's unexplained absence from Samudragriha, and the event not being a dream in reality, are utterly unbecoming for such a highly praised drama as the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Thus the author, whoever he may be, instead of giving a name after finishing the drama or mentally prearranging the plot, seems to have taken the name into account first and then begun to write a drama to suit the name. His choice of the story and many other disadvantages prevented him from attaining his purpose. This consideration induces us to suppose that there must be another drama from which such absurdities are absent.

From the references of Sarvānanda and Abhinavagupta we inferred that there was a drama with the name *Svapnavāsavadatta* and Vāsavadattā's marriage for its main plot. In all probability this belief seems not to be far from the truth for two reasons: (1) Abhinavagupta's quoting a verse as from the *Svapnavāsavadatta* need not be taken as a misrepresentation and (2) Sarvānanda's specification of the story of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* requires no modification. So we have reason to conclude that our Pseudo-Bhāsa has availed himself of the name *Svapnavāsavadatta* either in full or in a contracted form, and has tried to produce a play to suit that name.

One objection may be raised in this connection. How can a drama developing the love story of Vāsavadattā and Udayana give a prominent place to a dream, since the story as told in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* does not hint at a dream? This objection, however, may be got

¹ "I am aware that the generally adopted explanation of the name is to take it as a *Madhyama-pada* compound and as meaning Ūrvaśī won by valour etc." S. P. Pandit's preface to *Raghuvamśa* Vol. III, p. 31.

² *Bombay Sanskrit Series*; Vol. XVI. 3rd edition.

³ *Svapna*, p. 51. (1st ed.)

over very easily. Names such as *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala* and *Nirdosha-Daiaratha*⁴ suggest that the name given to a drama by its author may depend upon a dramatic refinement for its Significance. Moreover, Udayana's story as narrated in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* is not closely followed by many authors. For instance, from the *Ratnāvali* and *Priyadarśanā* we learn that Vāsavadattā's father was Pradyota, ruler of Ujjayinī. According to *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Pradyota was a ruler of Magadha and was the father of Padmāvatī, and not of Vāsavadattā. Further, in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* Udayana alone was thought to be deserving of marriage with Vāsavadattā by her father. But see Bhavabhūti's representation:

“ वासवदत्ता च संजयाय राजे पित्रा इक्ष्वात्मानमुदयनाय प्रावच्छन् ”

(*Mālatī-Mādhava*. Act II)⁵

Fortunately we know a story which answers to this allusion. Commenting upon the verse *प्राप्यावन्तमुदयनकथाकोविदप्रामुख्यम्*,⁶ etc. the late Prof. Wilson says:—“The story of Udayana, or Vatsarāja, as he is also named, is thus told concisely by the commentators on the poem; Pradyota was a sovereign of Oujein, who had a daughter named Vāsavadattā and whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon a king of the name of Sanjaya. In the meantime the princess sees the figure of Vatsarāja, sovereign of Cusha Dripa,⁷ in a dream and becomes enamoured of him; she contrives to inform him of her love, and he carries her off from her father and his rival. The same story is alluded to in the *Mālatī Mādhava*, a drama by Bhavabhūti, but neither in that nor in the Commentary on the *Megha Dūta*, is mention made of the author, or of the work in which it is related.”⁸ Bhavabhūti's mentioning Vāsavadattā is preceded by two references to Sakuntalā and Ōrvasī. About those two Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar says:—“The loves of Sakuntalā and Dushyanta and of the Apsarās and Purāravas, mentioned by Kāmandakī in the second act of the present play, may, very reasonably, be understood to be allusions to the *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala* and *Vikramorvaśīya*.” (Int. to *Mālatī-Mādhava*, *Bombay Sanskrit Series*; p. XI). If these two allusions are really to certain dramas, the one following them, too, may possibly be ascribed to some drama. I think that is the drama of Bhāsa which goes by the name *Scapnavāsavadatta*. The dream of Vāsavadattā, serving as the starting point of Vāsavadattā's love and thus having an important part, justifies the name. Besides, the verse *सञ्चितवक्त्रमकषाद* etc., quoted by Abhinavagupta also justifies the title. The verse, if translated, runs as follows:—“Having opened the gateway of my eye, whose doors of eyelids had been shut, by means of the key of her own beauty (?) the princess entered the lodgings of my heart.”

From this we learn that the lover, most probably Udayana, first beheld his beloved princess, seemingly none other than Vāsavadattā, in a dream.

Concerning the account given by the commentators on *Meghadūta*, Prof. Wilson observes that the tale of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* “corresponds in many points with that of Udayana as here explained.” The inference founded upon the *śloka* quoted by Abhinavagupta furthers this resemblance. Subandhu narrates that both the hero *Kandarpaketu*, and the heroine, the namesake of Udayana's queen, first see each other in dreams.⁹ So it is

⁴ See *Sarasvatikanthābhārava* p. 809 (Jivānanda's edition of 1894.)

⁵ *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, Vol. XV. 2nd ed. 1905, page 112.

⁶ *Meghadūta*. Canto I. 32, and page 32. (Wilson's edition.)

⁷ This seems to be a scribal mistake for *Kasāmbī*.

⁸ See also Nandargihar's notes on *Meghadūta* p. 35.

⁹ See *Vāsavadattā* pp. 56-79 and 184 to 188 (V. ni Vilas edition, 1906.)

possible, nay, even probable, that a drama on the love of Vāsavadattā and Udayana, properly named *Svapnavāsavadatta*, exists. It is also established that there are references which cannot be explained unless such a drama has existed.

Now comes the question whether there are any references to the *Svapnavāsavadatta* which we have in print. In Abhinavagupta's *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra-vivṛiti* a reference "कश्चिच्छ्रीडा यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायाम्" is found by Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri¹⁰. But we cannot conclude that it is a reference to the published work, unless we are in a position to positively state that the other *Svapnavāsavadatta* is devoid of a description of Kriṣṇā. As a love story it may possibly contain it. Rājasekhara's verse quoted above can be a reference to any one of these two *Svapnavāsavadattas*. It is safe, however, to conclude that it is a reference to the other *Svapnavāsavadatta* yet unpublished and not to the present one, the existence of which, in all probability, was unknown to any one of our reliable authors. Similarly we cannot accept Bhāsa's authorship of other dramas of this collection. It entirely rests upon the identification of the author of the present *Svapnavāsavadatta* with Bhāsa, and we are certain that that identification is dubious.

In his introduction to the *Pratimānāṭaka* Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri says¹¹ "the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* were, beyond doubt, in vogue at the time of the rhetorician Vāmana; and the *Bālacharita* and the *Chārudatta* in the time of Daṇḍin, as is seen from their having extracted verses, as examples, from them. From the fact that Abhinavaguptāchārya mentions in his *Nāṭyaśāstra-vivṛiti* the names of *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Daridra-chārudatta*, it could be concluded that the said *Rūpakas* used to be studied in his time. The other *Rūpakas* might have been forgotten during the times of Vāmana and others, and hence, I think, no verses have been quoted by them from those works." In other places he says "the said poet lived in times previous to the age of Vāmana, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who have quoted from these *Nāṭakas ad verbum, ad sensum*."¹² and "it is quite proper that Chāṇakya quoted the verse occurring in the *Pratijñā-Nāṭaka* and that Bhāsa lived considerably long before Chāṇakya."¹³ Taking all these to be granted, the Śāstri enters into numerous conjectures. I do not wish to discuss all of them here. I briefly state my opinions upon some of his seemingly strong conclusions.

He thinks that *Chārudatta* is known to Daṇḍin and not to Vāmana. But Vāmana quotes the following verse, which is found both in *Chārudattānāṭaka* and *Mṛichchhakaṭika*—

यासां बलिर्भवति महद्देहलानां हसैश्च सारसगणैश्च विलुप्तपूर्वः ।

तामेव पूर्वबलिरुदयवाकुरासु बीजाञ्जलिः पतति कीटमुखावलीदः ॥¹⁴

But another quotation "सूते हि नाम पुरुषस्यासिंहासनं राजवत्" (*Kāvyaśālikārasūtra* p. 56. *Kāvyaśālikā* ed. 1889) is not found in the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka*. So this is certainly taken from the second act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. Moreover, Vāmana praises Sūdraka in the following sentence :—

सूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबन्धेष्वस्य सूत्रान्प्रवक्ष्ये कृदयने (III. 2-4.)¹⁵

If Sūdraka's adoption of the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka* has been known to Vāmana, he would not have been justified in praising Sūdraka, and not Bhāsa, for his skill in developing the plot. If we admit Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's estimation of Sūdraka, we must think that Vāmana too has been "under the false impression that he¹⁶ is the original author." But who was

¹⁰ Introd. to *Scapna*, p. XXII.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. XXXV.

¹² *Scapna*, Int. pp. XXII and XXIII.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. XLII.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. XXXIX.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. XXXVI.

¹⁶ *Scilicet*, Sūdraka.

not under that impression? Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri concludes that Daṇḍin knows the *Chārudatta* and *Bālacharita*, simply because he quotes a line which is found in those two dramas.¹⁷ But the line is also found in the first act of *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.¹⁸ So there is absolutely no proof to say that Daṇḍin knew the two works unknown to Vāmana.

A few words about [*Daṇḍin*] *Chārudatta* will not be out of place here. Mr. Sāstri thinks that the *Chārudatta* is an incomplete work.¹⁹ But it seems to me that it is complete. Its author wanted to abridge the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* so as to be acted in one night. This necessitated its completion with Vasantasena's *Abhisarāga* to *Chārudatta* in the fourth act. In finishing it there he carefully omitted all passages and scenes which indicated events of the last six acts of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. That is why the last words of Saṁvāhaka, which are as follows, are omitted in the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka*:—

“ता संवाहके नृदिभने शक्यमनके संवुनेने शुभलिदन्वा अज्जभाए एदे अवसलु” (Mr. p. 117.)

Every reference to Āryaka in these four acts is omitted. Sakāra's words “अहिभने ववहाले अन्तलेण”²⁰ are omitted because they indicate that there would be a trial scene. Reference to Pālaka in the *Prastāvana* is also omitted purposely. Once he failed in doing so; he failed to omit the line “पापं”²¹ कमे च दस्परैरपि कृते तत्तस्य संभाव्यते”, which is meant to indicate Chārudatta's accusation in the ninth act. He who fails to acknowledge the significance of the passage must be the borrower. Moreover, in the seventh act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* we find भो न वसन्तसेना । वसन्तसेनो वसुणसो (p. 305). In *Chārudatta* न ख वसन्तसेना, वसन्तसेनो पत्नो (p. 60) is in the third act. If Sūdraka is the author that has adopted from the other, we see no reason why he should change the context of the above expression. If we take the author of *Chārudatta* as the borrower, we see that he not only adopts the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, but omits the last acts of it; so unwilling to loose such an expression full of fun, he may have inserted it in one of the first four acts. The author of the *Chārudatta* also replaces some difficult words by ordinary ones. See मसम in *Chārudatta*²² instead of वरडा²³ in *Mṛichchhakaṭika*; अस्तं व्रजत्युदमपक्षचन्द्रः for अस्तं व्रजत्युदतकांदिस्त्रिन्दुः²⁴. Also by changing अस्मि चतुः शालमिमं प्रवेदय etc., into a prose passage मूर्ख, बाह्यजनधारितमलंकारं गृहजनो न द्रक्ष्यति where the sense is spoiled. संकटेषु दुःखम् is changed into संकटे च तिमिरम्²⁵. These show that the author of *Chārudatta*, but not of *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, is the modifier.

Let us turn to our subject. The *Daṇḍin-Chārudatta* referred to by Abhinavagupta is supposed to be the *Chārudatta* of this collection²⁶. I cannot admit this inference unless I actually see the passage, consider its context, and be assured that it cannot but be a reference to a play and that it cannot be another name of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. Anyhow, I am sure that an authority of Abhinavagupta's rank will not at all think the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka*, certainly a slavish adaptation of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, worth notice.

Vāmana's knowledge of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana* is open to doubt. Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri's statement is based upon Vāmana's quoting यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्धेत्, which is found in the said drama.²⁷ But it is also found in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*.²⁸ We have no

¹⁷ *Swapna*. Intro. p. XXIII.

¹⁸ *Pratimodāṭaka*. Intro. p. XXXII.

¹⁹ *Mṛich.* p. 43 and *Chāru.* p. 10.

²⁰ *Mṛich.* p. 22.

²¹ *Mṛich.* p. 137 and *Chāru.* p. 53.

²² *Mṛich.* p. 137 and *Chāru.* p. 53.

²³ In page 63 of the *Chārudatta* we find (कर्णो स्पृष्टः) इत्थं शालीवन्तं युद्धेत्, which shows that the persons who adopted the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is a Southerner. Can these *Nāṭakas* be productions of the *Chākyar* actors of the past? See Int. to *Pratima*. p. XI.

²⁴ Int. to *Swapna*. p. XXII.

²⁵ *Swapna*. Int. p. XXII.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. XXVII.

¹⁸ *Mṛichchhakaṭika* (Bombay Sanskrit series Vol. LII.) p. 41.

¹⁹ *Mṛich.* p. 59 and *Chārudatta* p. 25.

²⁰ *Chārudatta* p. 10.

²¹ *Mṛich.* p. 134 and *Chāru.* p. 50.

²² *Mṛich.* p. 150. and *Chāru.* p. 57.

data to prove that our Pseudo-Bhāsa is earlier than Vāmana and Chāṇakya. I admit that the verse

“ शरच्छाङ्कुगौरेण वाताविद्धेन भामिनि ।
काशपुष्पलवेनेह साश्रुपातं मुखं मम ॥ ”

is quoted by Vāmana. But the author of the so-called *Swapnavāsavadatta* is the author of an adaptation of the *Mṛichchakapika*, i.e., *Chārudatta-nāṭaka*. Hence, he is in the habit of utilizing others' composition. Then the above *Anuśṭubh* may be a borrowing in the printed *Swapnavāsavadatta*. We find the following sentence in the *Chārudatta-nāṭaka*.

“ शरिरोऽखलु नाम मनस्विनः पुरुषस्य सोच्छ्रासं मरणम् ” (Chārudatta, page 8.)

A similar quotation is found in Vāmana's work.

असनं हि नाम सोच्छ्रासं मरणम्. (IV. 3. 23.)

It is improbable that in quoting a passage as an illustration one would have modified it. The modification is unnecessary for Vāmana, while it is quite a necessity to the dramatist. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that our dramatist is indebted to Vāmana at least for this passage. Moreover, there has been another play having the same plot as that of the *Swapnavāsavadatta*. It is called the *Tāpasavatsarāja*.³¹ The following quotations clearly prove the identity of plots of the two dramas:—

“ इष्टा सूर्यं निजिता विद्धिपथं प्राप्ता देवी भूतधात्री च भूयः ।
सम्बन्धोभूद्भक्तैर्नापि सार्धं किं तवतु (हु)ःखं यत्नतः (न नः) शान्तमय ॥ ”

“ राज्यप्रत्यापिबुक्त्या (प्रत्यापत्त्या) हि सचिवनीतिमहिमोपगतया तदङ्ग-भूतपद्मावतीलानुगतया-
प्राप्यमानरूपा [परमानभिलषणीयतमतां प्राप्ता] वासवदत्ताभिगतिरेव तव कलम् ॥ ”
(*Dhvanyāloka-Lochana* p. 151 and Hemachandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* p. 122.)

We are not in a position to realize the exact amount of the development of the plot which our author owes to the author of the *Tāpasavatsarāja*. The following quotation from the *Sarasvatikanṣhādharaṇa* shows that there is at least one event, which is not touched in the present *Swapnavāsavadatta*, but described in the *Tāpasavatsarāja*;

किं च इम्प्रायामपि वासवदत्तायां वैरप्रतिचिकीर्षया पद्मावती नयोदा अवसिते च समीहिते तथा
विना भगमपि न जीवानीत्यविज्ञातवासवदत्तासंनिधेः पत्तराजस्य अभिप्रवेशाभ्यवसायः प्रियाहवयतो
व्यलीकशल्यमुचक्षानेति तापसवत्तराजे (*Sarasvatikanṣhādharaṇa* (Calcutta 1894) p. 809.)

Perhaps the verse शरचन्द्रांशु शुभेण etc., is found in the *Tāpasavatsarāja*.

As regards Bhāmaha's quotation I am certain that Bhāmaha's criticism of the original story of the false elephant is well-known to our dramatist, for the latter introduces the speech तद्वै दिव्यं विभ अद्भुतं etc.,³² to meet the gravest of the objections raised by the former in the verse:—

“ सचेतसो वनेभ्यः नायया निर्मितस्य च ।
विशेषं वै बालेऽपि कटं किं नु कथं नु तत् ॥ ”³³

Otherwise, if as Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī thinks, Bhāmaha criticises the *Pratijñānāṭaka*, it would have been absurd of Bhāmaha to raise a question which is answered in the text itself. So “ अनेन मम भाषा हस्ये ” etc., must have been borrowed by the author of *Pratijñānāṭaka* from Bhāmaha's work, and not by Bhāmaha from the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*.

Thus the dramas discovered by Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī seem to be quite modern and unworthy of being attributed to Bhāsa.

³¹ A fragmentary MS. of the play is noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*. My Brother S. P. V. Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru of Vizagapatam tried to get a copy of it, but failed owing to his ignorance of the actual place of its deposition.

³² *Swapna*. Int. Part. XLIV.

³³ *Bhāmaha* IV. 47.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 188.)

Goleonda's attack on the rebels themselves.

The Muhammadans had by this time brought the Northern provinces of the Chandragiri Rāj under their oppressive weight, and they wanted to bring the feudatory states also to recognise their power. With characteristic ingratitude they turned against the very princes who had courted their alliance and invited their invasion. In their thirst for conquest, they forgot past friendships, and pointed their destructive course towards the kingdoms of Ginji, Tanjore and Madura. It seems that this unexpected movement paralysed the activities of the Nāiks and threw them into a state of despair from which they did not recover till too late. Even Tirumal Nāik was so much taken by surprise that he was unequal to the task of organising a defence. The Goleondah troops, in consequence, easily swept away the historic region between the Jāvaḷi hills and the Seven Pagodas, the region containing the renowned cities of Arcot and Arni, Conjeevaram and Wandiwash, and assembled at the foot of the impregnable walls of Ginji. Vijaya Rāghava Nāik was the first to yield. More selfish than brave, he readily acknowledged the supremacy of Goleonda in place of Chandragiri and bound himself to pay tribute. The submission of Tanjore had a most unfortunate consequence: Tirumal lost the little heart he had, and in his alarm that, after Ginji, the turn of Madura would follow, he repeated the blunder he had once committed. A wise statesman in his place would have, in case he was not able singly to meet the enemy, concluded a defensive league with Kanthirava of Mysore. Race, religion, and interest pointed to such a step. But Tirumal was incapable of it. He sought the alliance of an enemy of Mysore, the Sultan of Bijapur, on the ground that he was politically an enemy of Goleonda. We do not know on what terms he concluded this alliance. Indeed it is doubtful whether it was an alliance between equal sovereigns or an agreement between a suzerain and a feudatory. We may believe that, as Tirumal was acting against the demanded dominance of Goleonda, he refused in his agreement with Bijapur to recognise himself as subordinate chief, that he concluded his alliance in the capacity of an equal sovereign. But even supposing that it was so, Tirumal must have perceived that he was playing with a double-edged sword. He must have perceived that Bijapur might have more solicitude for religion than for politics, that there was always a greater tendency for even deadly rivals among the Muhammadans to unite than to help the Hindus against some Muhammadan power. He might have realised that, however deadly were the rivalries among the Musalman powers, these were likely to suppress them and combine together as against the Hindu. The policy of setting the Muhammadan against Muhammadan was wise, if accomplished outside his kingdom; but the present move of Tirumal Nāik would only convert his kingdom into a theatre of war between foreigners, and subject his subjects to the evils of war. It would reduce him, in other words, from the position of a ruler to that of a partisan. It would moreover widen the gulf between Mysore and Madura. Tirumal Nāik was blind to all this, but it was not long before he had to see that, his mastery in his kingdom gone, his people in misery, and his prestige shaken, the greatest enemy he and his kingdom had was himself.

Tirumal's alliance with Bijapur and the latter's treachery.

Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656) embraced cordially an opportunity which promised at once the humbling of his Musalman rival and his supremacy over the Hindu princes of the south. We have already seen how uniformly the Sultans of Bijapur tried, ever since the campaign of Talikotta, to conquer the Vijayanagar provinces, but in vain. Thanks to the rivalry of Golconda, to the domestic troubles caused by frequent rebellions and the valour of the Hindu chiefs, the Bijapur arms had hardly been successful. Nevertheless, by the year 1638, the army of Bijapur had advanced as far as Bangalore and conquered the districts around it. It would have taken Srirangapatam itself, but for the stout defence and martial skill of Kanthirava. Three years, later, this invitation came from Tirumal Nâik. Nothing was better calculated to fulfil the Sultan's objects. An army of 17,000 horse left Bijapur and reaching the Madura kingdom by way of Bangalore or its neighbourhood, where the arms of Rendulla had very recently gained a triumph over the local Gauda chief, joined with the 30,000 foot of Tirumal Nâik somewhere near Madura. The combined army, an inefficient and heterogeneous medley of Telugus and Tamils, Musalmans and Marâtias, advanced to the relief of Gingi, now besieged by the Golconda troops. The conflict of class and creed, of interests and policies, of customs and modes of life among the allied forces impaired their strength and flagged their zeal. An army united under such a frail bond, and disabled by such a lack of unity, interest, and discipline, could not be sure of beating an enemy, whose past victories had implanted in his breast an idea of invincibility. The Golconda general, however, preferred intrigue to fighting, and diplomacy to arms. He tampered with the loyalty of the Bijapur men, appealed to their religious feelings and won them over to his side. Community of religion prevailed over political jealousy, and Bijapur joined Golconda for the spoliation and exploitation of the Hindu kingdoms.

The fall of Gingi.

The immediate result of this shameful apostasy was the fall of Gingi. True, immediately after the desertion of his ally, Tirumal Nâik had a cause for satisfaction in the necessity of the Golconda troops to withdraw further north, owing to the revival of the war in that region by Sri Raṅga Râya with the help of Kanthirava Narasa Râj; and true he was able, on account of this, to find his way into the beleaguered fort; but this triumph proved a curse in disguise. For, as his men were "of different castes to those of the garrison," quarrels cropped up every moment; and Tirumal had to devote as much attention to the maintenance of harmony and discipline among his own men as to the encounter with the enemy. His endeavour to maintain harmony, however, failed, and as a result "a general riot took place. During the confusion which resulted, the forces of Bijapur gained possession of the fort almost without a blow and proceeded to pillage it of all the enormous wealth it contained." And Tirumal Nâik had to congratulate himself on his bare escape. In great precipitation and alarm, he took the route to his capital. History gives hardly a better example of treachery so soon chastised and want of patriotism so promptly punished.

The partition of South India between the two Musalman powers.

The colours of Bijapur waved triumphantly over the impregnable walls of Gingi. By a strange chance, the mastery of the lower Carnatic was now within the grasp of Bijapur, lately the ally and champion of its chiefs. For Golconda, as we have already seen, was

compelled to leave the task of completing the Musalman conquest of the south to its rival and ally, and withdraw to the north. It seems that, from this time to the conquest of the south by the Mughal, there was a sort of understanding between the two Musalman powers to the effect that Golconda³⁹ was to retain the mastery of the Carnatic plain to the banks of the Peṇṇâr, i. e., the area now covered by the districts of Guntur, Nellore, N. Arcot, Chingleput, and a portion of South Arcot, and that Bijapur was to have the mastery of the rest of the Carnatic and get tribute from its princes. According to this arrangement both the states would have well-defined boundaries of their spheres of influence. The eastern boundary of the Bijapur territory would be from the junction of the Kṛishṇa and the Tungabadra along the western ridges of the Eastern Ghats right down to the Peṇṇâr, where it took a south-western course towards the Mysore territory. To the east of this line and to the North of the Peṇṇâr, lay the territory of Golconda; and every district to the West of the line, including the Ceded Districts and Mysore, would be under Bijapur. South of the Peṇṇâr, the regions watered by the Kâvêri and the Vaigai, were under the political supremacy of Bijapur. It was a partition more favourable to the Western power, if the comparative area of the two spheres of influence is considered. But it ought to be remembered that Golconda had a more easily manageable territory. The major portion was Telugu country, and there were no powerful chiefs to dispute its authority and resort to formidable rebellions. On the other hand, Bijapur had yet to subdue Mysore and Madura, and even if subdued, they could with difficulty be kept in a spirit of uniform loyalty.

Bijapur's supremacy over Madura.

The army of Golconda, after its withdrawal from Ginji, was not quite successful against Sri Râga Râya and his Mysore ally. Thanks to the advantage of a favourable beginning and the mountainous nature of the country, the Hindus were able to give no small trouble to the Muhammadans. The Bijapur army, on the other hand, had a triumphant career on its southward course. The Tanjore Nâik once again took the oath of allegiance and paid an enormous sum or rather booty to the Sultan. The turn of Madura was the next, and the Muhammadan tempest burst upon it. The mind of Tirumal Nâik, already-oppressed and distracted by the misfortune he had sustained, was paralysed to powerlessness by the fear of treason among his own officers. The safety of citizens required the heroism and the tact of a soldier statesman, but none was equal to the task. The Bijapur army therefore found Madura a helpless prey to its greed, ready to offer the most object submission on any terms. The Muhammadan general made the best use of his triumph. He imposed a heavy war indemnity on the Madura monarch, compelled him to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay a yearly tribute. In his new allegiance, Tirumal Nâik seems to have known no limit or reason. He seems to have co-operated with his new suzerain in helping Golconda in the last phase of the latter's struggle with Sri Râga in the north. For it seems that after the reduction of the south, the troops of Bijapur, at least a portion of them, proceeded to the region of Arcot where Sri Râga was making his obstinate resistance. Tirumal seems to have despatched an auxiliary force to fight against his old suzerain. The descendant of Kṛishṇadêva Râya could no more maintain a struggle, and had to withdraw once again into Mysore. The Muhammadans now took the offensive. They were desirous of penetrating into Mysore, of

³⁹ Madras was consequently under Golconda. For the Nawab's policy towards it, see Wheeler's *Early Records of B. Ind.* p. 50.

chastising Kanthirava for his help to Chandragiri, and of collecting tribute from him. It is difficult to follow their movements from this time. It is not certain, for example, whether the Bijapur troops alone desired to invade Mysore or the Golconda troops also. Golconda had no motive for an offensive operation except the motive of revenge, and it is fairly questionable whether for the gratification of a feeling alone, the Kutb Shah would have once again plunged into a war. On the other hand, Bijapur had everything to gain by the Mysore conquest. It is therefore doubtful whether both the states acted together in this affair, and if they did, we may be almost sure that Golconda must have taken an auxiliary part. However it was, the invasion did not begin in an encouraging manner. The frontiers of Mysore in the east were so well guarded that the Muhammadans could make no impression on them. At this stage, Tirumal Nāik came to their rescue. It seems that while Tirumal was engaged in the north, the king of Mysore had in 1641,⁴⁰ descended the Kāvērapuram pass and taken the estate of Ghetṭi Mudaliar in Kongu country, as far as Gambally (Somapatti); and Tirumal now took revenge by throwing open the passes in his country, leading to Mysore, and giving the right of passage through his kingdom. A more imbecile or cowardly act cannot be imagined, and after all even this unnatural and imbecile slavery did not save him. For, when the Muhammadan army returned victorious after humbling Mysore and sealing for ever all hopes of Vijayanagar revival, they showed their esteem and their gratitude to their humble ally by extorting extravagant spoils from him. The spoils of peace were, to them, not less lucrative than the spoils of war, and friendship and allegiance were, in the experience of Tirumal Nāik, hardly less costly than enmity and independence.

The end of the Chandragiri dynasty.

Thus ended the attempt of Tirumal Nāik and his confederates to declare themselves independant of their nominal suzerain. From an imaginary Scylla they fell into a veritable Charybdis. Tirumal especially, had endeavoured to disdain the ostensible authority of his Hindu master, and brought about Musalman dominion not only over Madura, but the whole of South India. He had plunged into war for the sake of a word—for the reality he had already possessed—and in the end he did not only himself become a slave, both in fact and in theory, but made the other Hindu kings of the south slaves of the despised Mlechchha. What Kafur had failed to do and what the Bahmini Sultans and their successors at Bijapur and Golconda had failed to do for centuries, was now done by the treason of Tirumal Nāik. As regards the fate of the unfortunate⁴¹ Śrī Rāga, we are unable to say how it ended. Col. Wilks, whose history in this period is very meagre and unsatisfactory, ignores entirely the part that the king of Mysore played in the recent wars. He contents himself with the statement that "In consequence of a succession of revolutions

⁴⁰ Wilks, I, p. 33; *Salem Manual*, I, 48. Buchanan, I, 422 (where the great traveller gives an account of Kāvēripuram and its Polygar). Buchanan's historical knowledge is naturally very meagre, as is clear from his remarks in p. 429, where he refers to "Dalavai Rama Peya" and of "Gullimodal" (i. e., Ghetṭi Mudaliar) his contemporary. See also, p. 455 where "Sati-mangalam" is referred to and p. 464 where some account of Coimbatore is given.

⁴¹ Vol. I, p. 36. Buchanan gives a good deal of legend and information about the Ikeri dynasty, all of which have been utilized by Rice. See also the *Canara Manual*. Here it may be noticed that Venkateppa Nāik changed his capital from Ikeri to Bednore in 1646, and that he was succeeded by Sivappa Nāik in 1647. It was the latter prince that took Śrī Rāga's side. It is very curious, however, that in a number of grants which Sivappa Nāik gave to Śringēri between 1652 and 1662 he does not recognize Śrī Rāga. See *Ep. Carna. VI*, *Sg* 9, *Sg* 11, *Sg* 13, etc.

and misfortunes in Dravida, Śrī Rāga Rayar, the representative of the house of Vijayanagar fled from that country in the year 1646 and took refuge with the Raja of Bednore, formerly a servant of his family." Wilks proceeds to see that about 1655,⁴² this Raja availed himself of the name of the royal exile to extend his own dominions and lay siege to Srīraṅgaṭṭam itself. But the prowess and liberality of Dodḍa Dēva Rāj, the successor of Kanṭhīrava, resulted in the Rāja's discomfiture and retreat. After this, he continues, "we hear no more of Śrī Rāga Rayeel or the house of Vijayanagar." (I, 36). It is evident that Wilks omits the career of Śrī Rāga between 1646 and 1655. It is not improbable that, on the death of Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāj, his successor Dodḍa Dēva Rāj was reluctant to help the royal refugee, and that the latter therefore proceeded to Bednore. The immediate result of this was, as we have already seen, the rise of Bednore against Mysore. It ended in failure, and, Śrī Rāga, who seems to have lived at Bēlur, died sometimes after 1662. For an inscription of his name dated in that year records a gift to the Vyāsaraṇya Maṭha at Sōsale.⁴³

Vijayanagar history closes here, and the supremacy of the Musalmans over the S. Indian dynasties begins. Even after this, it is true, inscriptions of the southern kings are sometimes in the names of supposed suzerain Rāyas. Tirumal Nāik, himself, for example gave in 1655 a grant at Kannaḍiputtūr, ten miles south-east of Ujmalpet in the Coimbatore district, a grant in Śrī Rāga's reign.⁴⁴ And almost all the inscriptions of his successors contain the names of a Śrī Rāga, a Vēṅkata⁴⁵ or a Śrī Rāma. These three names occur not only among the Madura records but also the Mysore ones; their mention is a purely formal affair and possesses no historic significance whatever. Obscure descendants of the once magnificent dynasty tried at times to obtain the good will of local sovereigns and the enterprising Companies of the European nations, and revive their old glory; but such attempts could hardly succeed. Nicolas Manucci, for instance, tells us that a descendant of the Rāyas negotiated with the French for assistance; but such attempts arouse the curiosity and interest rather than his real serious attention.

SECTION VI.

The Second Mysore War.

One great legacy of Tirumal's war with the Empire was the undying enmity between him and the Uḷayār of Mysore. The betrayal of the latter to Golconda and Bijapur naturally exasperated Kanṭhīrava's animosity and made him undertake an expedition against Tirumal. He knew that his antagonist had suffered more from the recent political storm than himself, and was consequently in a greater state of exhaustion. Tirumal's army had been sorely thinned, his treasury exhausted, his soldiers discontented, and his subjects unable to bear the expenses of protracted warfare. It was with great ease, therefore, that a Mysore army burst through the frontiers of Madura, conquered the province of Saṭyamaṅgalam and

⁴² That Rāga was in his dominions till 1643 is proved by the fact that in that year he built certain *maṭapāḍa* and made certain endowments to the Gōvindaṛāja temple in that year. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1914, p. 102. (Inscr. 271 of 1914).

⁴³ *Antiquities*, II, 28; *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1911-12, p. 53.

⁴⁴ *Mys. Ep. Rep.*, 1915, p. 53.

⁴⁵ See the list of them in Sewell's *For. Emps.*, p. 234. Dodḍa Deva Rāja Uḷayār's inscriptions however do not name him. On the contrary, *Tk.* 21, *Om.* 153, and other insens. are examples of nominal allegiance on the part of the local chiefs after 1663.

Coimbatore, and ravaged⁴⁶ the country right up to the gates of the capital. The cause of Mysore was just, but it was vitiated by the atrocities committed by the soldiers on this occasion. Hindu warfare has, as a rule, been characterised by commendable moderation and self-restraint on the part of the victors. From time immemorial, the law of war had enjoined on the conquerors the duties of preserving the old and young, tending the wounded, protecting the refugees, and respecting the lives of women and children. The victorious soldiers were prohibited from the accumulation of unlawful spoils, from cruelty to the populace, and from vandalism. The Mysore army set aside the laws of humanity and civilization, and behaved more like bloodthirsty monsters than the retrievers of their country's shame. All those who came within their grasp, young and old, women and children, fighters and non-fighters, were horribly mutilated. Their noses were severed from their faces, and sent to their king as the trophies of war! Intoxicated with success,⁴⁷ they bade farewell to the softer sentiments of the heart and the honourable sides of their character, and made large parts of the Madura kingdom a prey to hideous scenes of human cruelty, lust and greed.

The progress of the Mysore army caused wide-spread alarm. Tirumal Naik was panic-stricken. The recent wars had exhausted the treasury and the country and the army of 30,000 men he had was insufficient. He therefore urgently wrote to all feudatory chiefs, dilating on the serious danger of Madura and the necessity of immediate response to the suzerain's mandate. The call was nobly answered, we are told, by the Sétupati. The Sétupati of the day was the celebrated Raghunātha Dēva, the successor of that aṣayakka II, who had fought with Rāmappaiya and whose claim was eventually recognised by Tirumal. In 1645 the latter had, after a period of six years peaceful rule, succumbed once again, this time fatally, to the greedy ambition and undying energy of Tambi, who revived the conspiracy in 1645. Tambi then seized the crown, but was unable to gain either the obedience of the people or the subjection of Raghunātha and Nārāyaṇa. Civil war once again resulted. Tirumal Naik interfered at this stage and brought about a partition of the state, by which Raghunātha was to have the capital and surrounding districts, Tambi was to get Sivagaṅga, and Danaka and Nārāyaṇa the conjoint possession of Tiruvādānai. By this equal partition he hoped to set a long-standing series of quarrels at rest and to give that peace which the county had long been longing for. But the settlement was not destined to be a permanent one. For Providence intervened by bringing about the death of Danaka and another civil war between Raghunātha and Tambi for his lands. At this stage, fortunately,⁴⁸ Tambi died, and the whole Marava country

⁴⁶ This is probably the war mentioned by Wilks in 1653. He says that "the Mysoreins descended the Gajjolithty pass, took Denalkan cotta, Satti mungal, and other places from Venkatadry Naik, brother of the Raja of Madura, and brought home immense booty; he also took many Talooks from Veerapa Naik of Madura." Perhaps Vēṅkaṭāḍri and Virappa were the agents of Tirumala (Wilks I, p. 34). That Tirumal Naik had full power over Salem in 1652 is seen by an inscription in Yerumippaṭṭi (10 miles south-east of Nāmakkal), which records a gift to the local temple in his reign (*Antiquities*, I, p. 204. See the *Carna. Hist.* and the Polygar memoir of Kannivāji for details). The Mysore invasion therefore should have taken place after 1652. Inscri. 170 of 1910 mentions Kanṭhitrava and Daḷavai Hampaiya in connection with Madura in *Maamatha*, which corresponds to 1655-6. See *Ms. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 93.

⁴⁷ See Wilks' *Mysore*, I, p. 22 foot-note.

⁴⁸ From an inscription (416 of 1914) of Aruppukōṭṭai which mentions a gift for the merit of Tirumalai Kāṭṭa Raghunātha Dēva by his agent Tambi Uḍaya or Tevar in *Dundubhi* (1664). Mr. Krishna Sastri surmises that Tambi lived very late and did not die as early as 1646. But it is doubtful whether the Tambi of the Aruppukōṭṭai inscription is the same as the old opponent of Raghunātha.

came into the hands of Raghunātha. And the world knew that he was the best man for the place. Bold, generous, courageous and wise, an embodiment of chivalry and valour, he gained the good will of all. Forgetting the injustice of his suzerain, he shewed a commendable loyalty to him by leading an army against a confederacy of the southern Polygars who, for some unknown reason, had risen under the lead of the great Toṭṭiyan chief Eṭṭappa Nāik. And now when the Mysorean was at the gates, when the Nāik was paralysed to inactivity, when the kingdom itself was shaken to its foundations, he was noble enough to respond to Tirumal Nāik's call. With 60,000 men, it is said, he came to Madura and joining his forces with those of the king, gave battle to the Mysoreans, and drove them, after inflicting upon them a tremendous war, beyond the passes. The gratitude of Tirumal, we are told, bestowed upon him rare privileges and honours as reward for his services. Besides entertaining him in his own grand fashion in his palace, he bestowed upon him, with a number of elephants and horses, and robes and ornaments, the title of Tirumalai Sētupati. He further gave him, besides the villages of Tiruppuvanam, Tiruchchulai and Pallimadaḍai and the lion-faced palanquin which he himself had used, called him (in the fondest political language of the day) his adopted son, and declared his estate a *sarvamānyam*,⁴⁹ i. e., free from all tribute. "From that time the Sētupati paid no tribute." Raghunātha, after his return to his estate, acquitted himself as a good ruler. It was he that removed the capital from Pugaḷur to Rāmnad and constructed, in place of the old mud fort, a stronger one of stone.

Kumāra Muttu's campaign against Mysore.

Tirumal Nāik was not satisfied with the expulsion of the Mysoreans. He indulged the spirit of revenge and ardently desired to humiliate the house of Mysore and to prove that the cruelties of its soldiers could not go unpunished. With reckless violence, his vanity plunged his kingdom once again into war. A large army under the leadership of his younger brother, Kumāra Muttu,⁵⁰ which was joined at Dindigul by the lovees of the Polygars headed by Rāṅgaṇṇa Nāik of Kannivāḍi, was soon on the borders of Mysore. After an incessant march day and night, they overtook the Mysorean army returning from their recent campaign, and retrieved the shame of their past disgrace by a splendid victory. Several fortresses were then taken and garrisoned, and Srīraṅgaṇṇam itself assailed. It is not known whether the place was taken; but if the version of the Madura chronicles is true, the Mysore king became a captive in the hands of his enemies, and suffered for his atrocious cruelty in the past by the loss of his nose. With thousands of less illustrious noses, it was sent by the exultant Nāik commander to delight the eyes of his royal brother, but before those eyes could be delighted, they had closed for ever from the scenes of the world.

SECTION VII.

The Progress of the Christians.

We saw in the last chapter how a period in the labours of De Nobilis had come into existence on account of the opposition that arose within the church itself against him, and how by June 1623, the very year of Tirumal Nāik's accession, he found it impossible to stay any longer in Madura. Condemned by his own men, he took the staff of a pilgrim,

⁴⁹ See *Madr. Arch. Rep.* 1911, p. 89 where Tirumal's interview with the Sētupati is epigraphically proved.

⁵⁰ Inscription 650 of 1505 says that Tirumal Nāik gave a village near Tiruchcheṅṅōḍu for the merit of Kumāra Muttu. Tirumalai Nāik in S. 1531 (Viḷambi). The latter is said to be Tirumal's son. See *Antiquities* also, I, 203.

and proceeded to the north with a view to plant the seeds of his faith there. Attended by a Brahman who carried his breviary, another his umbrella, a third his tiger skin, and two others the holy vase and water, he travelled in the guise and trim of a Sanyasin, and at length arrived at Sēndamaṅgalam. Here he had a kind and cordial reception from the local chief, who promised to give the Sanyasin a site for building a place of worship.

De Nobilis leaves Madura for Sendamangalam and Salem.

De Nobilis, however, promised to take advantage of his generosity later on, and proceeded to Salem, the seat of another tributary chief. The reception which "the Sanyasin" got in this place was exactly contrary to that at Sēndamaṅgalam. Refused food by rich and poor alike, he put up in an exposed building, evidently a *maṇṭapa*, outside the town, and lived there for forty days. The exposure to wind and sun brought disease, and his quiet life and suffering changed the heart of the Salem people. They now proceeded to the other extreme. They afforded him residence in the house of one of their magnates. They listened to his teachings with attention and interest. Even the elder brother of the local chief, hitherto a persecutor became a disciple, and entrusted the education of his four sons to the teacher. The king himself honoured him by a visit, and acknowledged, it is said, his victory in a debate with the Brahmans of his court about the doctrines of Pantheism, and assigned him a house in the Brahman street. It did not take long for the Brahmans to find out who De Nobilis was. They discovered that he was in reality a "Parangi," that he had been driven from Madura, and that he was no Sanyāsin at all. They prayed in a body to the king to expel him, but De Nobilis, persuasive tongue charmed him into friendship, and the king issued a positive order that the priest should in no way be harmed.

At Cochīn and Trichinopoly.

After the firm establishment of the mission at Salem, De Nobilis was absent for a year at Cochīn, whither the father superior and archbishop had summoned him. On his return in 1625 he interfered freely in the disputes which then raged between the chiefs of Salem, Sēndamaṅgalam, Moramangalam, etc. and tried, though in vain, to make political intrigue the means of religious propaganda. Indeed he even succeeded so far as to secure for the Moramangalam chief, an enemy of Salem, a rich banner with the cross on one side and the legend, *In hoc signis vinces*, in Sanskrit on the other, from the father provincial. But his cause was hardly benefited by it, as even his ingenuity was not a match for the elasticity of his converts' feelings. Nevertheless he converted many men from these parts, not overlooking even the Pariahs, though among the latter he worked in secret. In 1627, De Nobilis came to Trichinopoly and for a decade worked there. He converted hundreds⁴¹ to the "Christian faith," built chapels, and argued with the Paṇḍarāṅgas. Not infrequently he had to excuse himself from a disputation with his adversaries on the ground that he "could explain dogmas only to those who came for the truth." The father had more faith than philosophy in him, and he had at times to assume for truth what others wanted him to prove to be truth. The progress of Christianity, under such circumstances, could not naturally be smooth. By 1630 persecution began in real earnest. The neophytes, already exhausted by poverty, had to suffer persecution for their creed or rather change of creed. Opposition however increased the Christian activity; and it was in the midst of furious popular demonstrations that a prominent Paṇḍarāṅga with the insignia of umbrellas, servants and horses, took the city by storm by his apostasy. When he appeared before the *Tejapālā*, he was indeed roughly handled, but he simply asked them to strike still harder. Such examples of forbearance on the one side and cruelty on the other formed the secret of Christian success.

⁴¹ A very learned Pariah was baptised under the name Hilary.

His return to Madura (1638) and persecution.

In the year 1638 De Nobilis found himself once again at Madura. During the 15 years of his absence his work here had been continued by Father Vico, and now they combined their labours. De Nobilis' delinquencies were forgotten in his services, and he was received with cordiality by all. A timely service he was supposed to have done on this occasion raised him to Court favour. A Brahman magnate had a haunted palace, and it was freed from the evil spirit by the blessings of De Nobilis and the influence of a sentence of scripture he attached to the arms of the inmates. The gratitude of the Brahman, it is said, gained him the Nâik's favour. And De Nobilis took advantage of the new condition to increase the sphere of his activities. Availing himself of the death of Father Vico (after a hard life of 28 years) in October 1638, the first missionary to be buried in Madura, De Nobilis proceeded to Cochin to get new missionaries. Re-inforcements were now particularly necessary, as he himself was by this time too old, worn out, and weak-sighted to labour much. The new recruits had more enthusiasm than discretion. They appear to have pursued a line of extremism and made a frontal attack on Hindu beliefs. Their activity therefore raised widespread alarm, and even Tirumal Nâik had to give way to it and order the arrest of the missionaries both in Madura and Trichinopoly. Some of the Madura missionaries escaped, but De Nobilis was seized, the church and presbytery plundered, and the fathers, with their Brahman attendants, were, after exposure to the sun till night, taken to the prison and detained there for seventeen days on a handful of rice, without a change of clothes or water. The Nâik himself was so indignant with De Nobilis' obstinacy that he expressed the desire of killing him with his own hand. As for the missionary the more he suffered and the older he grew, the more did his studies and his austerity increase. Whether in prison or whether free, he and his companions were uniformly active. Even when free, they could not sometimes, go to their Church and had to live and worship in huts. In the midst of all this De Nobilis found time to compose various works. "For instance, to replace the wailing chants of widows, he composed laments on the Passion, the desolation of the Holy Mother, the fall of the angels, Adam, the evils in chastisements, etc. These were taught to Christian widows and by them he tried to protect the neophytes from the unclean language of heathen songs." (Chandler).

De Nobilis' appeal to Tirumal and his edict of toleration.

By the year 1644 De Nobilis was tired of persecution. He held consultations with the other missionaries and resolved to appeal to the generous sentiments of Tirumal Nâik. Through the influence of a eunuch, they gained the royal audience and placed before the kind monarch a heartfelt appeal for favour. Speaking in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, the reverend and blind father, a true Father of his faith, dilated on the tribulations of the Christians and used all his remarkable persuasive powers to move the heart of the Nâik monarch. And he gained his object. Tirumal issued an edict of toleration, authorised the missionaries to live and preach in his dominions, restored the spoils of the church, expressed a desire to see the leaders every month at his Court, and dismissed them with robes of honour. The Paṇḍârams were alarmed at this change in the king's attitude. They held a consultation among themselves, and resolved to kill De Nobilis by magic. The most capable magician in the land invoked, in the midst of a curious crowd, the anger of the Gods. He arranged his apparatus, traced figures in the sand and circles in the air, performed certain ceremonies, and with inflamed eyes, contorted face, grinding teeth, and howling tongue, threw a black powder in the air cursing the missionary to death. But De Nobilis stood before him as hale as ever. The magic had failed, and people concluded that the missionary was more than human.

(To be continued.)

Toṭa Giri. A goddess invoked in *Amira-iāntiya* and *Giri-liyô-dolaha-pidavila*, and apparently the same as Toṭa-hāli Giri, *q. v.* See also *Giri*.

Toṭa-hāli Giri. A goddess invoked in *Dolos-giri-dev-liyigē puṇḍa* as haunting fords where clothes are washed. See *Toṭa Giri* and *Giri*.

Toṭa Kaḍavara. "The Ford Demon." According to *T.-k.-upata* and *Kaḍavara-tovil*, the washerman of the king of Baranās, having lost one of his master's garments, ran away to Kāśi (*sic*) where he pretended to be an exiled prince of Baranās, and married the king's daughter, who bore him two sons, who played at washing and sewing. This raised suspicions, and the king asked the washerman to draw a sketch-map of Baranās. The latter drew it with his sword on the ground, and forgetting his part, marked in it the washerman's quarter, and spoke of the latter as his home. He was accordingly put to death, and reborn as a demon dwelling in a *naga* or Indian-fig tree near a ford (*toṭa*), where he smote with sickness the princess, his former wife, when she came to bathe; she was cured when on the advice of Brahmans offerings were made to him. He then sailed to Jaffna in Ceylon, but was refused permission to land by Nāta Deva, and he went back to sea, but later was allowed by Viramunja to enter. At Ruhuna he was driven out by Kanda; but he appealed to the four Guardian Gods, and having been taken under Pattini's protection, he landed again with Devol Deva. He causes sickness in women, especially lying in wait at fords, and is propitiated with offerings and dancing. Another *T.-k.-upata* states that he was originally a washerman named Ratna-pāṇi in Bimbā-nuvara of Kāśi-raja, who, when the king's robe was blown into the sea, fled to Solli, where he pretended to be a prince of Bimbā-nuvara and married the princess, who bore him twin sons, who played at sewing, and two other sons, who played at washing. The rest of the story is nearly as in the preceding version. When he became a demon, he made his four sons also Yakas when they and their mother visited his tree, and the four Guardian Gods permitted all the six to receive offerings in Ceylon. A *Toṭa-kumāra-baliya* tells a similar story; the hero however is said here to have been a washerman in the service of the king of Kāśi, who went to Soli-raja, where he pretended to be the son of the king of Bimbā-nuvara. One child only is mentioned, who played at washing a cloth. It prescribes an image 7½ spans long by 4 wide, with a cobra's hood over the head. The prince is in the middle; his wife, with a cobra around her, carries an infant on each hip; a child is near his feet. Yam, cabbages or hearts of vegetables, flowers, food, rice, fish, 7 kinds of flesh, cakes, and 5 kinds of parched grain are offered to the image on behalf of the sick man. It then prescribes a *bali*-rite, with a blue image 7½ spans long by 4½ wide, with a cobra's hood. The prince on the top is golden; he has gold ear-jewels, a sword in the right hand, a child on each hip, a switch in the hand, and with his feet he rocks two babes. The female figure has a cobra around her, as has also the prince. The vehicle is a cobra. Blood and rice of 8 colours are offered on the 8 sides. In a collection of verses to several Yakas Toṭa Kumara or Mala Raja is said to have been born as son of Maṇḍala Raja and Sandana in Doluvura-raja. He came in a ship to Ceylon with a Yakini or female demon, and was empowered to receive offerings by Ivara Sanaa, Kataragama Deva, and Sikkra. He is worshipped by means of a *vidi*. Another *T.-kumara-baliya* gives a ritual to exorcise sickness caused by him. His *bali*-image has a cobra's hood over its head, and sits upon a coiled cobra; another cobra is twined round its body. He rolls two weeping children beneath his feet and beats them. His wife is represented as suckling two other children and sitting in a cobra's coils. A washerman's

basin and a clothes-post are put up for the offering; and a dish of food is set for the 12 *Giris*. The *Kaḍavaras* *Samayam*, *Pili*, *Rīri*, *Kalu*, *Sellan*, *Dāḍimūḍa* and *Mal* are exorcised with him. He is probably the *Tōṭa Yaka* mentioned in *Sanni-yak-dūpanē*. A *T.-kumāra-śāntiya* invokes him as god of fords with 8 and 36 attendants to heal a sick man, as well as *Valli Yak Kaḍavara*, *Kosambā K.*, *Vāḍē Yak K.*, *Dāḍē Yak*, *Avara Yak*, *Devel Maha-K.*, *Bhūta Maha-K.*, *Aliyama K.*, *Perayama K.*, *Maddima K.*, *Lē K.*, *Mas K.*, *Abhūta K.*, *Riri Puluṭu*, *Mal K.*, *Hapumal* and *Gini K.* He is invoked in *Āṇḍi-kaḍavara-tovil*, *K.-goṭu-pidavila*, *K.-upata*, *K.-vidiya*, *Tedālakāraya*.

Tōṭa Kurumbura. See *Kurumbura*.

Tōṭa-madana. A demon, on whom see *Ratikan*.

Tōṭa-pala Kaḍavara. A demon invoked in *Kaḍavara-vidiya*.

Tovil. The ritual *Tovil-pāli-upata*, "Origin of the Series of Offerings", prescribes an exorcism for sickness, invoking the *Yakas* to descend into a thread washed with turmeric, and into a vase. The Earth-god, *Mihi Devindu*, took a golden vase and broke through the earth's crust into the world of men. *Īsvara* planted 7 yellow cocoanuts in the world of men to dispel sickness. *Saman* created resin. *Betel* arose from the hood of the *Nāga* king; the second shoot grew in a park of *sal*-trees. The fowl offered arose from the peacock-throne [of *Kanda* ?] when it was torn in two by the *Asuras*; the god issued thence with a fowl in his hand. The ritual *Tovil-vidiya*, after describing offerings for the Planets and *Viṣṇu*, invokes at the *samayan* or 4 divisions of the day the *Kiravāllē* queen, *Asupāla Kumari*, *Sanni Yaka*, *Maṅgra Hāmi*, *Ridi Bisavu*, *Pattini* of the Four Quarters, *Mihikat* the Earth-goddess, and the Guardian Gods of the Eight Quarters.

Trivakkāli. Mother of *Devel Devi*.

Tun Bā-rajū. Three spirits invoked in *Vāḍi-śāntiya*.

Tun-net Tuman. See *Śiva*.

Turikl. A *Nāga* king, father of *Kāli*.

Turmeric. Water coloured with turmeric is used in rites of purification. It is said in *Kaha-diya-upata* that when *Mānikpāla* was to be cured of the spell of *Māra* and a bower prepared for the exorcism, *Oḍḍisa*, who was the exorcist, needed turmeric. *Sākra* blew upon his *jaya-saka* or conch, and sent *Mihī-kata* to search for it. At the *Anotatta* lake the *Yakini* *Ayilakkandi* gave a golden kettle full of it; *Kāla-hūta Yakini* brought flowers, ornaments, and fire; and she, with *Golu-kirtti Yakini*, who has charge of the *Golu* Ocean, *Gini-kandi Yakini*, the guardian of the *Pearl* Ocean, wearing red stones and red robes, *Lē-riri*, guardian of the *Blood* Ocean, and the *Yakinis* of the *Vil-hata* or *Seven Lakes*, poured out the turmeric water. The *Seven Queens* of the *Seven Seas* assisted at the rite, by which *Oḍḍisa* healed *Mānikpāla*. See also *Maṅgra Devi*, *Nā-mal Kumāra*, *Tovil*, *Vas*.

Twelve Gods. See *Dolaha Deviyā*.

Uḍākkē. See *Drums*.

Uda-maṅgra Yaka. A demon in the legend of the plague of *Viśālā*, *q. v.*

Uduvela-piyasa Rāla Sāml. One of the *Gini-kanda Kaḍavaras*.

Uduvella Rāla. A demon, on whom see *Piṭiya Devi*.

Uggāl Surindu. A deity invoked in *Valalu-vidiya*.

Ulapāṇē Baṇḍāra. A demon, on whom see *Perahāra*.

Uma (Pārvati). The Hindu goddess, wife of *Īsvara* or *Śiva*, *q. v.*; mother of *Kanda* and of *Gana Devi*, who burst from her right side (see *Aṣa Magula*); sister of *Mānikpāla*,

Sarasvati, Lakṣmī, Siri, Gana Devi, and Tārā, in one legend, or, in another, of Mānikpāla, Viṣṇu, and Sarasvati (see *Mānikpāla*). She created 7 sons, who became Sellan Kaḍavara, *q. v.* She is one of the Seven Devas (*q. v.*) conceived by Nāta. She seems to have become the golden hind which gave birth to Valli Amma, *q. v.* She lured the enamoured Asura to destruction (see *Kanda*). She is sometimes distinguished from Mā-devi, and in some legends is said to have married Maha-sammata. Invoked in *Tis-pūyē kīma* (as regent of the 12th pāya, and wife of Siva), and in *Set-kavi*. See also *Betel, Cobra, Kola-halu, Siva, Torch*.

Umāvatī. A goddess, dwelling in the magic mat (see *Aṭa Maḡula*).

Umayā Devi Yakini. A female spirit invoked with bowl and blood in *Samayan-pādura*: see *Samayan*.

Una. See *Fever*.

Una Garā. The spirit of fever, exorcised with offerings and a *bali*-figure in a *bali-vidiya*: see *Bali*. He is figured as blue, with a red face and iron club.

Unāpāna Kiri Amma. See *Kiri Amma*.

Undammita Raja. A form in which Sākra was disguised to heal Mānikpāla; see *Vas*.

Unuvinnē Baṇḍāra. See *Vanni Baṇḍāra*.

Upulvan. See *Viṣṇu*.

Uramala Pattini. See *Pattini*.

Uraniya. A Nāga king, whose Iraniya-bali is mentioned; see *Mōlan Garā*.

Urumusi Yaku. A follower of Dāḍimupāla.

Uruvesi. See *Mā-devi*.

Usangoḍa Bisava. A goddess invoked in *Sat-bisav-yāga* (*Yāga-vidiya*). See *Kiri Amma* and *Seven Queens*.

Usvāllē Kandē Baṇḍāra. A god invoked in *Gaṅgē-baṇḍāra-kavi*.

Vāḍē Yak Kaḍavara. A demon invoked in *Toḷa-kumāra-iāntiya*.

Vaḍiga Kurumbara Yakas. 60,000 of these spirits accompanied Gaṅgē Baṇḍāra, *q. v.*

Vāḍi-gala Yakas. 6,000 of these "demons of the Vāḍa Rock" are said to have been present at the ceremony for healing Paṇḍuvas. [*Kaḍavara-vidiya*.]

Vaḍiga-paṭuna. On the legend of the "Vaḍiga casket" see *Maḷ-sarā Raja*.

Vaḍiga Pēdi Tantila. A demon, on whom see *Pīṭiya Devi*.

Vaḍiga Rṣi. Some versions of *Vaḍiga-paṭunē* relate that this sage came from his home in Mini-gal-vimāna to Vaḍiga-nuvara, or came to the latter on his way to the former. Seeing the king's eight daughters, he beckoned to them, and they followed him to his home, where he taught them magic. For the rest of the story see *Maḷ-sarā Raja*. He is invoked in *Tira-hata-maṅgalē*, where Oḍḍisa also is styled "Vaḍiga Rṣi" (see *Curtain*.)

Vāḍi Kaḍavara. A demon haunting Vāḍas' hunting-places. [*Kaḍavara-tovil*.] Invoked in *K-kavi*.

Vāḍi Maralu. A companion of Maralu Yaka.

Vāḍi Raju. A god invoked in *Pattini-yāga-kavi*: see *Pattini*.

Vāḍi Riri. A god invoked in connection with Riri Yaka.

Vāḍi Sami. See *Kalu Baṇḍāra*.

Vāḍi Yaka. A demon invoked in *Kaḍavara-vidiya*.

Vāḍi Yakas. The 36 V. Y. and Goḥu-pat Vāḍa are said in *Kaṭavara-vidiḡa* to have absented themselves from the purification of Paṇḍavas. The 36 accompanied Mala Raja on that occasion, according to another legend; see *Paṇḍavas*. A *Vāḷi-śāntiḡa* is used to exorcise the evil influences of the spirits Malē Raja (*i. e.* Jivahatta), Kudā Siri-bon Raja, Āmati Vūḍi, Viyanboyi, Bāli Bisava, Gana-ran Siri Valallā, Ridi Valallā Vāḍi (the Silver-bangle Vāḍa), Ran Valallā (Gold-bangle), Gopallā, Miti-dunu Vāḍi, Tun Bā-rajū (the Three Brother Kings), Kosambā Devi, Yaggal Vāḍi (the Vāḍa of the Iron Rock), Kalu Vāḍḍō, and the 36 Vali Yak.

Vaduru. See *Smallpox*.

Vaduru-halamba. On the "Smallpox-bangle" of Kālī, see *Kālī*.

Vaduru-Kālī. See *Kālī*.

Vaduru Mā-devī. A goddess of smallpox, apparently the same as Vaduru-kālī (see *Kālī*). The *V.-m.-d.-kavi* states that she has authority from Viṣṇu, Kanda, and Pattini; she has a bangle in her right hand, a sunshade in her left, and a silk kerchief; she dwells at the southern gate of Pattini's house, crosses the waters with bangles on both hands and tinkling anklets, and drives away Yakas with fiery rays. She is invoked in *Mal-keli-yādima*.

Vāhala Baṇḍāra. See *Senevi-ratna*.

Vāhala Deva. See *Vāsala Deva*.

Vāhala Devel. See *Devel Devi*.

Vairava. See *Bhairava*.

Vaīsravana. See *Vesamunu*.

Vajrapati Gopalu Yakini. Mother of Oddisa.

Vajrasana (Vidurāsana). The seat of Gautama Buddha under the pipal tree at Gayā, which arose when he threw down 8 handfuls of *kuśa* grass (see *Curtain*). On the Vidurāsana-halamba see *Bangle*.

Vala-bāhu. A king who received Abhūta Devi.

Valāhaka (Valā Devi, Viduli-valāhaka). A spirit who brought betel for the marriage-rites of Maha-sammata (see *Betel*). Viduli-valāhaka fetched the cock for the war of the Gods against the Asuras (see *Fowl*). Valāhaka with Viskam brought limes from the Nāgas' world (see *Limes*); shot Riri Yaka; told Sākra of Miyulundana's infidelity (see *Rukattana*). Viduli Yaka was sent by Sākra to fetch a torch for the exorcism of Maha-sammata and Mānikpāla (see *Torch*).

Valākul. The "Cloud," a deity who resides in the tail of the leopard used in the rite of Aṭa Magula, *q. v.*

Valalu. One *V.-vidiḡa* describes an exorcism by fastening hoops of creepers or vines. It relates that to exorcise *vas* from the crown of the head the gods made a garland; for the head *pāra-valala* ("war-circles") were given by the 28 Buddhas and the Yogi Guru, for the forehead by Gautama and Sākra, for the eyes by Saman; Gautama is invoked for the mouth. That on the neck and arms has the power of the 28 Buddhas and 16 āduru (exorcists); for that on the shoulders Uggal Surindu is invoked. The hoops on the arms, wrists, and elbows are tied as they were tied on the Buddha when he was bewitched. Ten rings are tied on the ten fingers, by the power of the Thousand Buddhas, as was done by Dala-kaḡa Rṣi to the Bodhi-sattva; those on the breast and waist are tied by the power of Gana Devi and all the gods, that on the thighs by the power of the conquest of Māra; that on

the knees by the power of the worlds of Nāgas and Asuras, etc., that on the ankles by the power of Saman and Uggāl Surindu. Another *V.-v.* invokes Bimba-put, Nāgara Ṛṣi, and the Girdle-relic for the shoulders, the Four Guardians for the left arm, the Ṛṣis for the right arm, Vēda-patma Ṛṣi for the hands. An exorcism of spells is described in *Valalu-vina-kāpīma*, according to which 103 bandages of vines or creepers are fastened at intervals on the sufferer's body from head to foot, and cut with an areca-nut cutter, while Vesamunu, Buddha, the Sun and Moon, etc., are invoked. See also *Maha-sammata*, *Oḍḍisa*, *Sūrya-valalla*, *Vas*, *Vine*.

Vālihela Gama-rāla. Father of Kohomba Raja.

Vali Mātā. See *Valli Amma*.

Vali Yaka. The legend and ritual of this spirit are given in the *V.-y.-kavi*. Upulvan gave him his protection, as also did Pattini and Saman. Sitā is said to have been born from the blood of an ascetic. Vali stopped the jingling of Pattini's anklets, and received her bangle. He turned the son of the Vālihela Gama-rāla into the demon Kōsambi Yaka, and with him received offerings.

Vali Yakas. 36 of these accompanied the Mala Raja when he healed Paṇḍavas; they are invoked in *Vāli-śāntiya* and *Kaṣavara-śāntiya*.

Vali Yak Kaṣavara. Invoked in *Āṇḍi-kaṣavara-tovil*, *K.-kavi*, and *Toḍa-kumāra-śāntiya*.

Valli Amma. The mortal bride of Kanda. The Vāḍḍas believe that she was found as a babe and reared by their ancestors near Kataragama, hence they will not kill or eat wild fowl or peafowl, which are sacred to Kanda. The *Kanda-sura-varuṇā*, after invoking Pulvan, Pattini and Saman, and relating the story of Kanda's birth, states that when Viṣṇu was performing austerities in the forest at Pālaniya, he took the form of a golden stag and united himself to a spotted hind (apparently Umā in disguise) from which a girl-child was born. The hind deserted the babe; but the Earth-goddess, Mihi-devi, cared for her, and some Vāḍḍas found and adopted her. A cradle of gems created itself for her. When she had grown into a young maiden, the Vāḍḍas cleared a patch of forest to grow millet, and dwelt there with her, and the wild animals used to do homage to her. The saint Nārada saw her and told of her to Kanda at Pālaniya. Kanda in the guise of a Vāḍḍa went to her, and said that he had lost his way and was famishing. She sent him away. Then he blocked the road with a tree, and when the Vāḍḍas tried to cut it down blood came out of it. Next day, while their king was hunting, Kanda came as before, and was dismissed again. Then he came in the guise of an old Āṇḍi yogi covered with ashes and carrying a wallet. The Vāḍḍas received him hospitably, and Valli cooked him food, which seemed to choke him, and he asked for water. She went to fetch some; he followed her and drank the water. Then he gazed upon her face and threw water upon it. After much argument he made Gana Deva appear in the form of an elephant, whereupon she consented to his pleading. He then assumed his own form; then he became again the Āṇḍi yogi, and they went back together to the Vāḍḍas. Then they eloped; but the woman who guarded Valli pursued them and made them return. They again eloped. The Vāḍḍas pursued and shot arrows after them, which turned back upon the archers without doing any hurt, but Kanda with his arrows shot them down in crowds. Valli lamented for her people, and Kanda bade her summon them back to life, and they rose up again. Kanda then assumed his own form and received their homage. The Vāḍḍa king performed their marriage-rites, and Kanda gave them power to exorcise evils from heat, cold, and demons. The *Valli-mālē* begins with Kanda's coming in the guise of an ascetic and his wooing, which was repulsed.

Then Gana Devi took the form of an elephant who rushed at her; she clung to Kanda, and promised to marry him. The Vāḍḍas pursued, but were shot down by Kanda, who then created a pond, and revived them, and they celebrated the wedding at Kataragama in the month Āsala. She is invoked in *Tis-pāyē kima* (as regent of the 29th *pāya*) and in *Amara-śāntiya*. See also *Kanda*, and *Sandun Kumāra*.

Valli Yakas. See *Vali Yakas*.

Valli Yak Devi (V. Y. Giri). Invoked in a *Nava-graha-śāntiya* and *Giri-liyō-dolaha-pidavila*. See *Giri*.

Valli Yak Kaḍavara. See *Vali Yak Kaḍavara*.

Vāl Mava. See *Valli Amma*.

Vana Giri. A goddess invoked in *Dolos-giri-dev-liyagē puwata* as haunting the skirts of a wilderness, and touching the wall-plates of a house with her hand while her feet are on the floor. See *Giri*.

Vanara Devi. A deity who gave the skin of the drum (see *Drums*).

Vana-tunga. On his legend see *Perahāra*.

Vanehi Raja-kumarū. See *Mātalan*.

Vanni Baṇḍāra (V. Devi, Unuvinnē Baṇḍāra). A god described in *Unuvinnē-baṇḍāra-kavi* as haunting Unuvinnē, the temples at Panvila and Kandē, the Vanni district, Kataragama, the Gal-kotuva or Stone Fort (possibly Trincomalee), where he meets the god Kīrtti Baṇḍāra, Gurubāddē, Āndiribāddē, Kaṣupatvela, the Hambiliya rock temple, Diya-bubula, Hakurutalē hill, Gōnagama, and Hiḡgurutavade temple, as bearing a cane given him by Kumāra Devi, and as catching wild elephants; he dwells in the woods, and is attracted to the hills by bowls of offerings. One *V.-b.-kavi* says he is under the protection of Kataragama Devi; he smites Vāḍḍas with sickness, catches elephants at Tambalagala, rides on an elephant, blows on a *jaya-saka* ("victory-conch"), and visits the sanctuary at Balagala. Another *V.-b.-kavi* states that he had a bower at Hirimalvatta of Dumbara, temples at Butavatta and Udugoḍa, 6 temples at Unuvinna and Puranale, and his home at Gal-kotuva; he visits Navayāletānna, Kataragama, Arukvatta, Danagamuva-vela, Kehel-āla, Madakalappuva (Batticaloa), Talvatta, Runuva, Panava, and Tamankaḍa (his cult in the Padaviya-rāja of Northern Ceylon being here omitted), and receives offerings in the Uda-rāja; he was born in the Treasury-village or Gabadā-gama of Viyaluva, overcame the Sanni Yakas, and catches and beats the Būta Yakas. The *Dolaha-devi-kavi* states that he has a temple on the top of Hunukāḷa-gala, where silver weapons are dedicated; he wears a pearl necklace, causes fits, and is worshipped throughout Vanni. He is invoked in *Datu-mura-yahan-kavi* (which states that he fled from the Vanni to Uda-rāja), and *Samāgam-mal-yahan*.

Vanni Raja. See *Vanni Baṇḍāra*.

Varo Raja. Father of Mal-sarā Raja.

Varuṇa. A Nā-rāja or Nāga king, husband of Vimalā, and father of Irandati.

Vas. Magical influences, especially those that attend the first wearing of any object. Those attending the first wearing of a crown are exorcised by the ritual described in *Oṭunu-cas-ḥaranē*, which relates that Bamba-put Rājī brought vines or creepers (see *Vīne*), Danta-dhātu Rājī gave them power, and Viśvakarma bound them on men in hoops (see *Valatu*). Nāga-bamba-put Rājī gave sprays of the "nine-leaf," *nava-kola-atu*, of which Viśvakarma made hoops, which were tied on the person to be exorcised, in the presence of Śvara

and the Nāgara R̥̥is, with Buddhist invocations. There is a ritual for exorcising sorcery styled *Vas-haranē*, described in some poems of the same name. Its origin is traced to the legend of Mānikpāla (*q. v.*). A building was then constructed by Viśvakarma. Sākra came disguised as Uṇḍammita Rāja, with a *pusul* (ash-pumpkin), and with the aid of the R̥̥is dispelled the charm. Various other things were used in the rite: betel, areca, and limes, which arose from the ashes of Duma-valli's pyre; colosia, which sprang from her ornaments; limes, which issued from her heart; turmeric, from her fingers; the creeping lily (*niyagala*, *Methonica superba*), from her tongue; fire-flies, from her eyes. All these are used in the modern rite. Various deities are present in it: the Duma-valli Deviyō in the rice offered, Avara Mahipāla in the pestle, the Four Gods in the exorcist's ornaments, the Planet-chief Alepa in the mortar; and the Doraṭupāla Yakas guard the gates of the building. A celestial thread sent by Sākra is said in *Divi-dos-pirittuva* to have been the means of exorcising *vas*.

Vāsala Baṇḍāra. A god said to have had charge of the northern gate in the ship of Mala Rāja.

Vāsala Deva (Vāhala Deva). A companion of Kanda, *q. v.* Invoked in *Pattini-yāga-kari*. Apparently the same as Senevi-ratna, *q. v.*

Vasavatti. See *Māra*.

Vāsi Devī. The rain-god. Invoked in *Amara-sāntiya*.

Vāsuki. A serpent-king, who presides over the leaf of the *hirūssa* vine; see *Aṭa Magula*.

Vāta Devī. The Wind-god. Invoked in *Amara-sāntiya*. See also *Pattini*, *Vāyu*.

Vāta Girahani Yakini. A female demon who afflicts children with swelling of the stomach and emaciation; exorcised in the *bali-vidiṃya* (see *Bali*) with a *bali*-figure having a smoke-coloured body, a club, a broken bowl or skull, a discus, and an elephant-goad, and riding on a Rakusu.

Vāta Kumāra (V. Sāmi, Muḷu Sāmi). The *Kumāra-devi-upata* relates that the parents of this god were the king Boksāl Terindu and a queen. Astrologers predicted that he would become a priest. One day he climbed up a round relic-house (*vaṭa dāgē*) which his father was building, fell off, was killed, and became a Rakusu. He fell in love with a queen at Anurādhapura, and possessed her; as she seemed dead, her pyre was lighted, but he quenched the fire and restored her to life. She was hence called Sōṇaḷu Bisava, from *soḥona*, "cemetery." Her husband made offerings to him, and by leave of Vesamunu his worship became general. He possesses women, and makes the sufferers dance. The *Boksāl-upata* names this god Poksāl, and makes him the son of a queen and a king or priest named Mohot Terindu (?), born in Boksāl-pura. Even at the age of 7 years he was lascivious, and his father resolved to imprison him and then make him a priest. When 9 years of age he went, dressed as a Buddhist priest, to the circular Relic-house at Anurādhapura to make sacrifice, and fell down and crushed his left ribs. He died, and was reborn as a demon, who became enamoured of a princess, and thereafter assailed women with sickness. He is worshipped with offerings of cakes made of hill-rice, milk-rice, rice coloured red, red ixora flowers, and betel. He is possibly the same as Kumāra Devī, who gave a cane to Vanni Baṇḍāra, *q. v.* The *Vaṭa-panti-bali* prescribes for his ritual a platform of plantain trunks, 7 cubits long and 7 cubits wide, divided by 18 cross-pieces; rice is then offered. Six plantain trunks are taken, a square space is measured out, and 16 sections of plantain wood are laid on it. Three platforms are made of plantain strips, twelve by twelve, and

decorated. A pathway is made round these, with 4 arches, 16 wreaths, and 48 *toḍu* earrings. A chair is made, and flowers, betel, rice, cakes, etc., are offered, with 32 oil-torches. Eighteen verses are recited in the pathway and dances performed. The god is said to be under the authority of Buddha, and apparently bears a golden disc. He dances, staff in hand, comes at the three watches of the night, carries his head under his arm, appears to sleepers in dreams like a loud noise, stabs with a javelin, and roams about slaying men. He is associated with Yakṣa Rakusu in the R.-bali; see *Rakusu*. He is invoked in *Garā-yak-pāliya*, *Vidi-bāndima*, and *Yak-pidavila*. See also *Boksāl*.

Vaṭa Kurumbura. A companion of Devel Devi, born from Bhaṣmāsura's death-flames. See also *Kurumbura*.

Vaṭa Mānlyō. A female spirit invoked in *Vāḍi-yak-yādinna*.

Vaṭa Sami. See *Vaṭa Kumāra*.

Vaṭa-viyane Baṇḍāra. See *Ruval Yaka*.

Vaṭa Yaka. An uncle of Kuvēni: see *Vijaya*.

Vat-himi Raja. A bower for him was made by Dāḍimuṇḍa (*q. v.*) at Devana-giri.

Vaṭuka Yaka. A demon in the troop of Dāḍimuṇḍa, probably the V. Demala Yaka mentioned in *Sanni-yak-dāpanē*; propitiated in *Vidi-bāndima*. See also *Vīṭālā*.

Vayu. The Hindu Wind-god; propitiated as a *hin* (*q. v.*), and regent of Uturu Puṭupā in *Nava-graha-mal-baliya*. See also *Vāta Devi*.

Vayu Rakusu. A demon represented in the R.-bali; see *Rakusu*.

Vēdana Ṛṣi. A mythical sage who figures in the legend of Mal-sarā Raja.

Vēda-patma Ṛṣi. A mythical sage invoked in *Valalu-vidiya*.

Vēda Ṛṣi. A sage figuring in the legend of Oḍḍisa.

Velabi Hanumanta Yakini. Mother of Oḍḍisa.

Velabi Oḍḍisa. See *Oḍḍisa*.

Velassō Baṇḍāra. One of the Gini-kanda Kaḍavaras, *q. v.* See also *Kalu Kumāra* and *Piṭiya Devi*.

Ven. See *Viṣṇu*.

Venu-put. See *Kāma*.

Venus. See *Sikurā*.

Vesālī. See *Vīṭālā*.

Vesamunu (Vaiśravaṇa). One of the four Guardian Gods, *q. v.*; styled Lord of Yakas in *V.-dāpanē*, which gives a ritual of exorcism by his power. He protected Hāniyan Yaka, Kambili Kaḍavara, Rīri Yaka, and Vaṭa Kumāra; see also *Saikhapāla*, *Tanipola Riri Yaka*. He is invoked in *Amara-iāntiya*, *Kaḍavara-kavi*, *Pandam-pāli*, *Sat-aḍiya-kavi*, *Valaluvina-kāpīma*.

Vetivu Ṛṣi. Father of Budahu.

Vi. See *Rice*.

Vibhīṣana. A god, worshipped at Kālaniya (vide *Tilaka-pirivan* Thera's *Kovul-sandēṣaya* and *Haṃsa-sandēṣaya*, *Mayūra-s.*, and *Tisara-s.*); invoked in *Amara-iāntiya*, *Kaḍavara-tovū*, *Rājādhirāja-simha-iāntiya* (as god of the Toṭagamuva Vihāra), and *Set-kavi*. See also *Kambili Kaḍavara* and *Nāta Deva*.

Viella Raja. Father of Oḍḍisa.

Vidi. A *vidi* is a space of enclosed paths surrounding the site of a ceremony. The poem *V.-upata* says that one was used by the Rsis to heal Maha-sammata's enchantment. It was 60 cubits square; within it a golden post was raised beneath a white sunshade, and upon the post was Bamba. Oddisa, being fetched from Ajakūta, made Viskam measure the ground and sprinkle it with water and sandal-dust; Viskam divided it into *pādas* or quarters for Bamba, Devas, and Pretas, marked out with a golden cord the plan of a pavilion, and built triumphal arches and approaches. The poem *Siṃhāsana-vidiya* adds that in the midst of the *vidi* was a throne for Maha-sammata, and that Oddisa held the sun and moon in his hands, created lightning from the clouds, rode in a golden chariot, and had a chank bangle on his arm and flames from the Avīci hell around his head. There is a *Vidi-bāndima* (Nāgara-Oddisa-vidiya), an exorcistic rite said in the *V.-b.* to have been performed by Oddisa in order to heal Mānikpāla of her enchantment. Three-storied structures are said to have been built for it, facing the north for the Yaku, the south-west for Kumaru, the south for Vaṭuka Yaku, the sunset for Vaṭa Kumāra, the west for the Nāga king, the north-east for Devel Deva; goats, peacocks, and red cocks were offered. A post of *rukallana* (*q. v.*), 9 cubits long, was brought by Viskam and placed to face the north, and a throne was set beside it.

Viduli-valāhaka. See *Valāhaka*.

Vidurāsana. See *Vajrāsana*.

Vijalindu. See *Vijaya*.

Vijaya. The first leader of Hindu colonists to Ceylon, as narrated in *Mahā-vamsa* and *Dīpa-vamsa*. The *Vijalindu-divi-dos-upata* relates that V. was born to Siṃhabā Raju from Siṃhabā-dēnu's navel (*sic!*). As he tortured and slew children and cattle, his father sentenced him to death, and set him adrift on a Saturday, under evil omens, in a ship made of plantain-trunks. He set sail with 700 men born on the same day as he. After 7 days the ship sank, and for another 7 days he swam in the sea. As he came towards the shore, he cut a sawfish into three pieces with his sword, and landed with one piece at Tammannāvila. His men also landed, and lay exhausted. Kuvēni came in the form of a bitch to look at them. V. sent his brahman to see whence she came, but he did not return; one by one the seven hundred were sent in the same way, and were all detained by her. By Sikra's order Viṣṇu then went to his help, disguised as a Gurulu, with a *pirit*-cord tied round his arm (*cf. below*). V. set out, and found Kuvēni sitting on a golden chair, carding cotton. She said she had not seen his men; but when he seized her by the hair and threatened to cut off her head, she offered to release them if he would marry her. He consented and did so. In the night he heard a loud noise, which she said was caused by her kinsmen going from Laggala to Loggala. She became a mare; he mounted her, and slew the Yakas, sparing only Vaṭa Yaka, Koṭa Yaka, and Mayilavalānā, her mother's brothers. She fainted at the sight of the bloodshed. In the same night he left her, journeyed away 30 *yoduns*, and settled in Bandā-nuvara, where he married the Pāṇḍi princess Bimbā Devi. Afterwards he went to Kurunāgala, and guarded himself with 30 lines of watchmen. On awaking from her swoon Kuvēni created 3 babes, one walking by her side, one borne on her hip, and one unborn, and with these made her way to him and reproached him. From a distance of 3 *gavvas* (18,000 yards) she stretched out a tongue which pierced 7 rock-caves and reached

his heart as he lay asleep. The brahman minister on guard saw it and cut it off. A drop of blood fell from it upon Bimbā Devi's bosom, and he wiped it off with his finger. The queen accused him of an outrage, and V. sentenced him to death. To defend himself he produced the tip of the tongue that he had cut off, which sprang upon the head of V. and brought the *Divi Dos* (q. v.) upon him and Paṇḍuvas, to heal which 8 inches of a leopard's head were cut off with a sword and laid at the king's feet. From the blood spirting from the tongue arose flies, gnats, fleas, and lice.

The *Pala-vāla-dānē* gives the same story of his coronation and repudiation of Kuvēni and of the *Divi Dos* inflicted on him and Paṇḍuvas. The *Nava-graha-mal-baliya* gives an account of his sickness and Buddha's command to Kihirāli Deva to protect him. The rituals to heal him are variously described; see *Aṭa Magula*. A *Vijayindu-ḥaṣanē* relates that V. was the son of Siṃha-bāhu and Siṃha-valli. He grew up headstrong and lawless, and was banished from his father's realm. He sailed with 700 followers to Tammannā-toṭa, where Kuvēni in the form of a bitch seized his men. When V. approached her, her third pap vanished, and she yielded herself to him and surrendered his men. She prepared for them a great feast and created a city and palace. She also created the city of Upatissanuvara, where she made a palace with four entrance-halls called Bhojana-ran-mini-vāsala, Megha-ran-mini-V., Tuṅga-giri-v., and Cakra-v. Another *Vijayindu-ḥaṣanē*, after narrating the earlier births of V. and Kuvēni, relates that the ministers of the king, V.'s father, spoke evil of him; the king sent him away in a rotten ship, and he reached Tammannā-toṭa, swimming through the surf to land. Kuvēni took the form of a bitch with red back and eyes, white belly and claws, black hind-legs and head, blue fore-legs, and a golden tail, etc. The *Vijayindu-puvata* and *Laṅkā-bodhi-vastuva* give an account similar in most points to that of the *Mahā-vaṃsa*. The *Viṣṇu-vidiya-kavi*, narrating the arrival of V. in Ceylon, states that Viṣṇu gave him a magic thread to wear, which made him proof against the Yakas; this thread is invoked in *Tunu-ruvan-pirittuva*. He begot by Kuvēni Jivahatta, who is identified in one legend with Kalu Kumāra, son of V. and Kalu Kiri Mavu or Karaṇḍu-bānā. His origin from a lion is narrated in *Siṃhalē vistarē*; his wooing of Kuvēni, in *Tilaka-pirivan Thera's Kovul-sandēsiya*; his repudiation of her, in *Kuvēni-asnē*. For the legend of his and Kuvēni's previous births, see *Kuvēni*. See further *Divi Dos*, *Mala Raja*, *Paṇḍuvas*. He is invoked in *Pirittuva* and *Vāḍi-yak-yādinna*.

Vijaya Kumārī. A person attacked by Riri Yaka.

Vijitta Raja. Father of Mātalan. See also *Vijaya*.

Vikāra Devī. A deity who gave clothes for the torch-rite (see *Torch*).

Vikrama-bāhu (Vikum-bā). (1) A king, said to have built a temple at Āmbākkē; see *Devatār Baṇḍāra*. (2) A king, on whom see *Piṭiya Devī*.

Vimalā. Mother of Irandati.

Vina. Malignant magical influences. A *V.-kāpun-kavi* exorcises these from the various divisions of time and space, the parts of the body, etc., invoking Buddhist and other themes. There is a ritual styled *V.-vidiya*, and poem describing it for exorcism of evil planetary influences, and to cure *sanni* (fits and similar diseases), dropsy, and debility. Limes are cut and the verses chanted, and Buddha's removal of the pestilence at Viśālā is invoked. Limes were brought by the Rṣis from the worlds of Nāgas, Suras (gods), and

Asuras for exorcism. Then follows a *sirasa-pāda* to exorcise the evil limb by limb from head to foot. See also *Valalu*.

Vine. The square vine (*vitis quadrangularis*, *hirāssa*) is used in the ritual of *Mohol-upakaraṇa-upata*, which says it originated in a park of *sāl*-trees at Kusināra, where it came from the Nāgas' world; Maha-bamba placed it at the patient's feet. The *Aṭa Magula*, which also prescribes its use, says it arose from Īsvara's nostril. See *Aṭa Magula*, *Divi Dos*, *Oḍḍisa*, *Valalu*, *Vas*.

Virā. A god overcome by Mala Raja.

Virā-bhadra. A god, son of queen Nandā of Vaḍiga-raja. As Nandā was bathing in a lake, a Yaka saw her. She fainted, and he possessed her, entering her body through her nostril, and was conceived by her. Among her longings of pregnancy was a desire for human flesh, and the king, her husband, gave her bodies from a cemetery. When the child was born, the soothsayers declared that at the age of 7 years he would go into the forest of Oḍḍisa and become the Yaka Virā-bhadra. He did so, but at the age of 16. He was 3 gavvas (12 miles) in height: fire came out of his mouth, eyes, ears, and nose, and 160 cobras entwined his body. He had 800 yakas in his train. He is exorcised by dances and offerings on a decorated stage. [*V.-kavi*.]

Virā-muṇḍa. A god: said in *V.-alaṅkāraya* to have been born after a prophetic dream by his mother. For his youthful misbehaviour, he was sentenced to death, but escaped, and sailed to Kolamba (Colombo) in Ceylon. He came to Iriyagama and at Vil-bāva constructed shrines. Seven Baṇḍāras were under his command; he fed demons of Ceylon, broke the legs of many Demalas (Tamils), warred against the gods of Ceylon (who were led by Kataragama Deva), and made Pattini's bangle to cease rattling. He has a red silk kerchief on his head, a red and blue cock in his right hand, and a golden sword and wand. The *V.-yāgaya* relates that before his birth his father, the king of Kōli, was warned by evil omens, and the queen's breasts turned black and dried up. She went from Kōli-nuvara to Malala-nuvara, where she bore a son under most evil auspices. The dream (see above) is related in this version also. When the boy grew up, he was driven out of Kōli, and sailed on a stone raft to Yāpāpaṇa (Jaffna), where he caught and beat the Sādi Tamils. He stopped the jingling of Pattini's bangle, became lord of Rakusus, and gave authority to Kalu Kumāra to kill young girls. He carries in his hand a cock. A *V.-upata* gives a similar account, and states that he arrived in Ceylon at Sinigama and defeated the Yakas at Iriyagama. The *V.-pena-kīma* states that he came to shore at Pānigalpota, where he broke the necks of 100 elephants, visited Beligal Korale, and fought with the king of Kolamba. He is elsewhere said to be the son of the king of Koliya-nuvara, and elder brother of Rāmana Kāt and Tāmanērta, and later was known as Malala Raja. The *V.-yādinna* describes him as coming to Ceylon on a stone raft. See also *Nā-mal Kumāra*, *Pattini*, *Toṭa Kaḷavara*. He is invoked in *Mal-keli-upata* and (as V. Malala-sāmi) in *Pattini-yāga-kavi*.

Virā-muṇḍa Māti. A god invoked in *Salu-salima*; see *Pattini*.

Virā-parākrama-bāhu. A king, said to have built a temple for Kanda at Āmbākkē (see *Devatār Baṇḍāra*), and another for Gana Devi.

Virā Pattini. See *Pattini*.

Virā-vaṇṣa Piṭiya Devi. A god invoked in *Dalu-mura-pidum-kavi*.

Vira-vikrama Devatār Baṇḍāra. See *Dāḍimunda*.

Vira-vikum Ratna Baṇḍāra. See *Kambili Kaḍavara*.

Virūḍhaka. One of the Guardian Gods.

Virūpakṣa. One of the Guardian Gods.

Viśala. A *Dan-udiya-kathāva* relates that Dan Udiya received alms and ate them himself, for which he was at once turned into a rock. After 12 years Gautama Buddha in pity addressed him. At the third utterance the rock began to hear, uttered a cry, emitted a stench, and returned to human shape. The stench created a pestilence that attacked successively dogs, cattle, and men in Viśālā (Vesāli). Buddha stopped it and the 18 forms of *sanni* disease. This story is accordingly embodied in a ritual for Sanni Yaka. Another *D.-u.-kathāva*, of similar contents, refers to a *viḥārē* (monastery) at Makkama (Mecca). In *V.-iāntiya*, a ballad upon an exorcistic rite, it is said that a beggar of Viśālā asked for alms, promising to give away in charity whatever he received; but he only gave away the half, and was therefore reborn as a Preta (ghost) called Dan Udiya or Hamsapāla Udiya, who had no arms, legs, eyes, nose, or ears. Buddha addressed him; he rose up, and thunder was heard. Plague then attacked men and animals, with drought, famine, bloodshed, and incursions of evil spirits. Buddha was summoned; rain fell, and he restored the country to its former state, and preached *pirit*. Cf. the story of the *Budu-guṇa-alaikārāya* and *Ratana-sūtra-iāntiya*. A *bali* rite is then prescribed for Yakas of various lands. The *Maha-viśal-yādinna* ascribes the plague at Viśālā to the demons Vaṭuka, Kambili, Siya-vaṭuka, Amu-sohona, Siri, Kaḍavara, Gopalu, Golu, Bihiri, Kana, Kora, Pilli, Bhairava, Madana, Ratikan, Maha-sohona, Teda Pattini Yakṣayō, Sūniyan, Puluṭu, Uda-maṅgra, Talātu, Bhumātu, Teda Devel, etc., assembling from all countries. The plague of Viśālā is also connected with Hūniyan Yaka (*q. v.*) and Vaduru Kāli (see *Kāli*). See likewise *Set-iāntiya*, and *Vina*.

Viśkam. See *Viśvakarma*.

Viṣṇu (Upulvan, Pulvan, Ven). The Hindu deity, consort of Lakṣmi, Sītā, and Siriyā, and one of the Guardian Gods (*q. v.*); said in *Pala-vāla-dānē* to dwell with Sītā (*q. v.*) in Vaikuṇṭha on the Himālaya. The *Upulvan-asnē* relates that he fought with the Devas against the Asuras and slew their chief Mahā-bali. The *Satara-devāla-devi-puvata* narrates that he came to Ceylon and overcame the Demala Yakas. He dived in boar's form into the waters, to seek the earth; in tortoise's form he supported Mount Meru on his back when the winds blew upon it and the Nāga king twined round it; he overcame Bhaṣmāsura by guile, and alone of the gods supported Buddha in his struggle against Māra. The *Vali-yak-kavi* states that Buddha gave him charge of Ceylon; the *Buda-bala-dūpanē*, that Buddha appointed him to guard his religion for 5000 years. He is incarnated in Rāma. He took part in the healing of Maha-sammata (see *Abina-iāntiya*). With Sūkra and Īvara he invented the word *svasti* (see *Alphabet*). He took part in the rite of the arrow to heal Mal-sarā (see *Arrow*). In woman's form he begot and gave birth to Ayyanār, *q. v.* He is present in the betel-leaf, and one shoot of the primitive betel was his (see *Betel*). He overcame Bhaṣmāsura by assuming the form of a lovely woman (see *Bhaṣmāsura*, *Kalu Kumāra*); brought a charmed thread to heal the *divi-dos* of Vijaya (see *DiviDos*); created a golden cock for the war against the Asuras (see *Fowl*); and plunged into the sea and straightened Meru when it had become crooked through Īvara's blow, and himself conceived and bore Hūniyan Yaka, *q. v.* With his sanctuary at Bintenna Kalu Kumāra (*q. v.*) is associated. He is father of Kāma, (*q. v.*); aided Kambili Kaḍavara (*q. v.*), who carried and broke his



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F. G. stands for the Supplement, *Folklore of Gujarat* pp. 109—124.
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THE
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AND

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ALPHABETICAL GUIDE TO SINHALESE FOLKLORE FROM BALLAD SOURCES
by L. D. BARNETT pages 21 to 32

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AND

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

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by L. D. BARNETT pages 57 to 63

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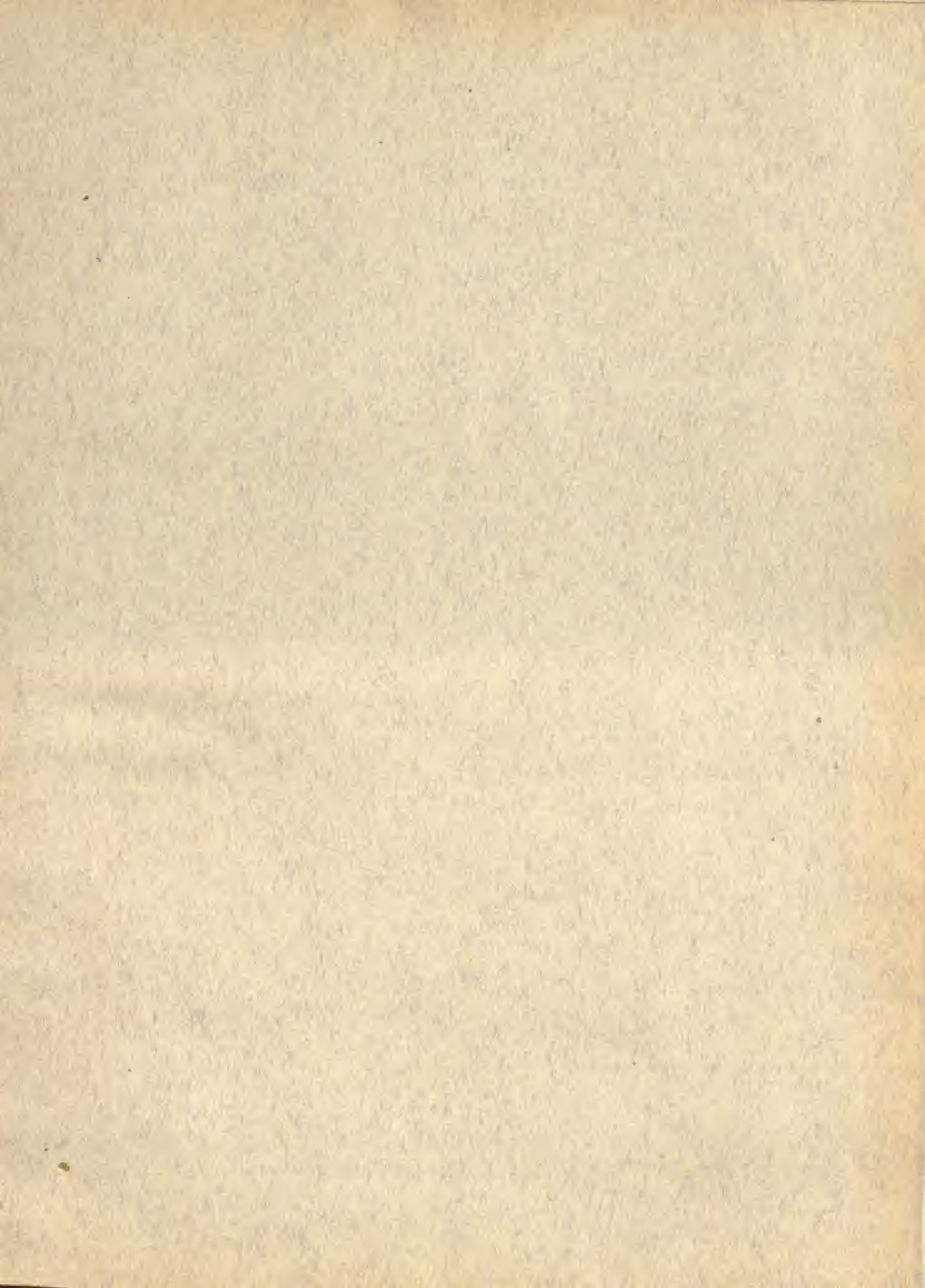
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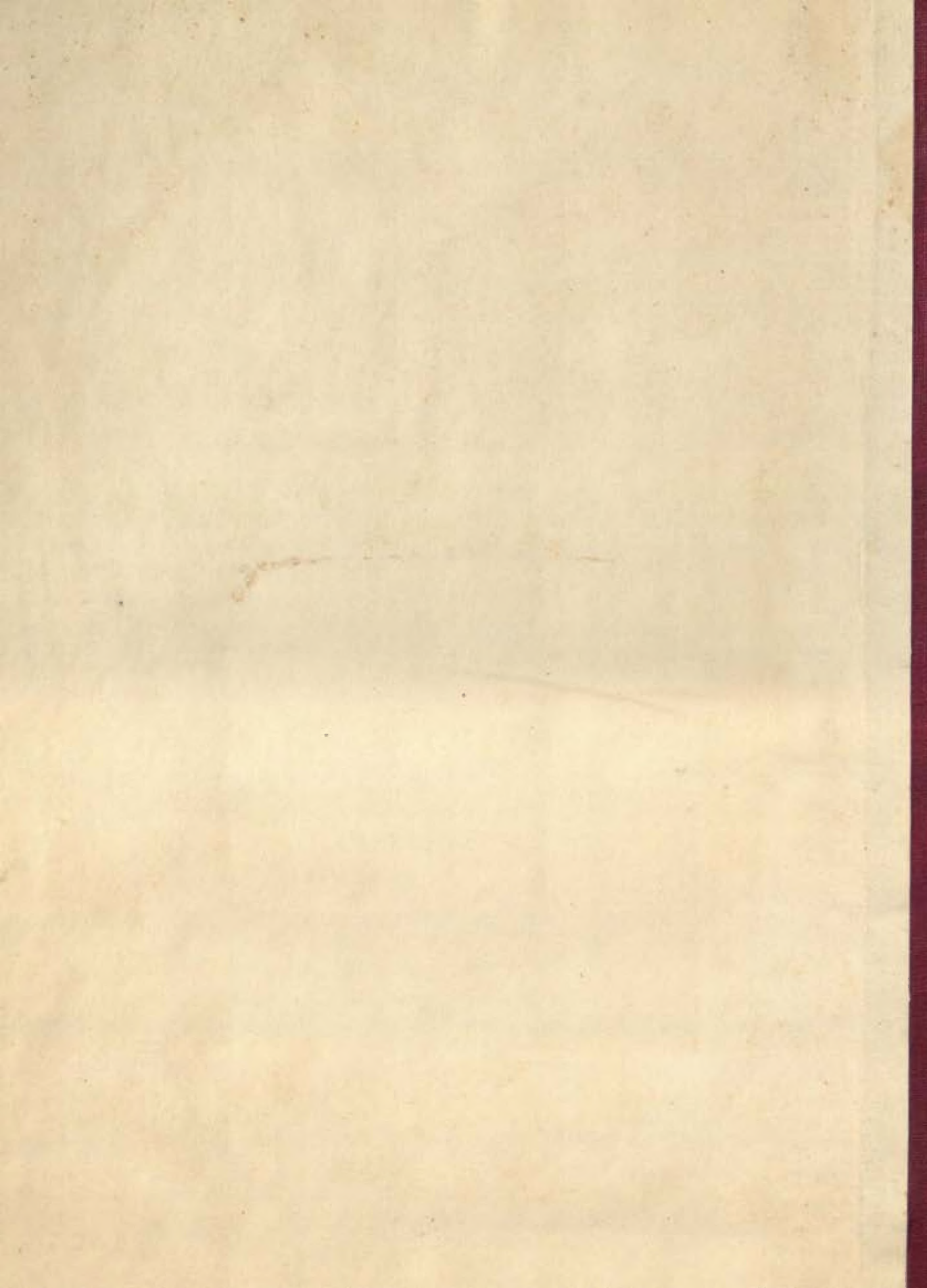
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